

**Metaphors Ukraine Lived By:  
Metaphorical Framing of the 2014 Ukraine Crisis in the British,  
American, and Russian Newspapers**

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Tampereen yliopisto  
Viestintätieteiden tiedekunta  
Englannin kielen ja kirjallisuuden maisteriopinnot

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Tämän pro gradu –tutkielman tarkoituksena on tutkia metaforien käyttöä Ukrainan vuoden 2014 kriisin uutisoinnissa. Tutkimuksen aineistona on käytetty uutisraportteja merkittävistä amerikkalaisten, brittiläisten ja venäläisten julkaisuista vuodesta 2013 vuoden 2014 loppuun. Päätös keskittyä amerikkalaisten, brittiläisten ja venäläisten julkaisuihin perustui maiden vastakkaisiin kantoihin Ukrainan tapahtumista. Analysoimalla maiden sanomalehdissä käytettyä kieltä etsittiin todisteita eriävistä näkemyksistä Ukrainan kriisistä.

Tutkimuksen lähtökohdaksi valittiin Lakoffin ja Johnsonin (1980) käsitteellisen metaforan teoriaan (Conceptual Metaphor Theory) perustuva teoreettinen viitekehys. Teorian mukaan metafora on kokemustemme alitajuinen toteutuma ja tutkimalla metaforisia kielellisiä ilmauksia voimme oppia ihmisen käyttäytymisestä. Lisäksi, tutkimuksessa otettiin käyttöön Charteris-Blackin (2004) metaforan kriittinen analyysi (Critical Metaphor Analysis), jossa yhdistyvät kognitiivisen ja kriittisen diskurssianalyysin lähestymistavat.

Uutisartikkeleiden analyysi toi ilmi, että brittiläiset, amerikkalaiset ja venäläiset sanomalehdet nojasivat samankaltaisiin metaforiin kuvatessaan Ukrainan kriisiä. Yleisimmät metaforan lähdealueet (source domain) olivat yhteisiä kaikille kolmelle alakorpuksille ja sisältävät objektin, matkan, pelin, elävän olion (personifikaatio), ja luonnonvoimien alueet. Kuitenkin tietojen vertailussa tärkeimmät havainnot olivat, miten kukin julkaisu käytti samaa lähdealuetta ja erot metaforien luovassa toteutuksessa.

Kognitiivisen kielitieteen valossa samankaltaisuus metaforan lähdealueen valinnassa todistaa näiden alueiden monivalenssista (multivalency) englannin kielessä. Omaksumalla metaforan kriittisen analyysin lähestymistavan tutkielman tuloksista voidaan todeta tavanomaisten metaforien olemassaolo kriisiraportoinnissa. Erot amerikkalaisten, brittiläisten ja venäläisten julkaisuiden välillä Ukrainan kriisin kuvauksissa voi johtua sekä eri näkemyksistä tapahtumista, että tiettyjen julkaisuiden vakiintuneesta metaforisen kielen käytöstä.

Avainsanat: metafora, kognitiivinen kielitiede, metaforan kriittinen analyysi, Ukrainan kriisi.

## 1 Introduction

The Ukraine crisis is a period of widespread unrest in the country during the end of 2013 and 2014. It started when the former Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich turned down signing of the pledged Association Agreement (AA) with the European Union and peaked in 2014 when the Russian military forces invaded the Crimea peninsula (BBC, 2014). The political and economic crisis was covered by all major mass media around the world. In the thesis, I will examine metaphors related to the situation in Ukraine in a selection of articles by the British, American, and Russian newspapers between the end of 2013 and 2014.

The decision to investigate metaphors framing the events in Ukraine is based on the claims of cognitive linguists Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that:

1. Metaphor is ubiquitous: “Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3).
2. Systematicity of the linguistic expressions as *win the argument*, *lose this argument*, *attack every weak point of the argument* is evidence that our thoughts are structured by experientially motivated conceptual metaphors (e.g. ARGUMENT IS WAR) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 3-6).
3. Systemic metaphorical linguistic expressions can be used to understand the nature of our actions (e.g. focus on attacking vs. defending in an argument) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 7).

In *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) Lakoff and Johnson offered cognitive approach to the study of metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 34) are convinced that conceptual metaphors are results of everyday life experiences and therefore people use metaphorical language unconsciously. For instance, when experiencing losses due to incomprehensible economic and political factors, the metaphor INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY might explain why we are *declaring war on inflation*, *setting targets* or *calling for sacrifice*.

It is probable that experience of a conflict does not differ greatly in cultures. Thus, adopting Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) point of view, structuring of events in Ukraine should not differ greatly and are expected to be realised by the same metaphor themes. These considerations led to the following questions I will research in the thesis:

1. What are the main metaphors used in relation to the Ukraine crisis?
2. Do the grounds (source domains) for the metaphorical structuring of the events differ in the three data sets?
3. What are the possible reasons for similarities and differences in the three countries' newspapers?

To understand the metaphorical language and its function, first general features of the discourse in which it appears must be examined. Chapter 1 provides a short background on the crisis and provides the general characteristics of the newspaper discourse. The chapter also reviews previous studies on conceptual metaphors.

Chapter 2 introduces the concept of conceptual metaphor and outlines how the issue of metaphor and metonymy is addressed in the Cognitive Linguists. The chapter briefly discusses the conventionality of metaphors both on linguistic and conceptual level and outlines the alternative

theories of metaphor. Finally, the chapter summarises main issues that cognitive linguistic analysis and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) are criticised of.

Chapter 3 presents the data and methods employed in the study. Chapter 4 provides a short overview of the most frequent referring expressions used to talk about the Ukraine crisis following the detailed examination of the most frequently employed source domains for the metaphors across three subcorpora. Chapter 5 summarises the main results of the study. Finally, the conclusions are drawn in Chapter 6.

### **1.1 Background on the crisis**

On November 21, 2013, up to 2,000 people gathered at Ukraine's main square in Kiev to protest the suspension of signing the Ukraine-European Union Association Agreement. The decision is considered to be the precursor of the turbulent events that engulfed Ukraine for the following years (News UA, 2016). "We, Ukrainians, want the changes, we want to live with the European family, with European rules, with Europeans' life standards", declared the world boxing champion and opposition leader Vitali Klitschko (BBC, 2013).

The European Commission (2016) states that the Association Agreement (AA) is a treaty that set the basis for political and economic association between the European Union and a state. Typically, the AA lays foundation for the co-operation between the 28 European Union countries and a non-EU country in political, social, cultural, and security areas in exchange for commitments to political and economic reforms. To come into force, the AA has to be approved by all the EU member states and the state concerned (European Commission, 2016). As of 2013 most of the aspiring EU countries have signed such agreements with the European Union (European Commission, 2011). And on November 2013 it was Ukraine's turn to sign the Agreement during the summit in Vilnius (Interfax Ukraine, 2013).

Ukraine, Europe's second largest country, has long been considering joining the EU and ratification of the trade agreement would mark a shift towards the possible EU membership (BBC, 2013). However, on November 21, Ukraine's prime-minister Mykola Azarov suspended the process of signing of the AA between Ukraine and the European Union, and its member states (Interfax Ukraine, 2013). During the summit in Vilnius, President Yanukovich expressed desire to sign the AA. However, Yanukovich asked for a loan from the EU to compensate for economic losses faced because of the pressure from another strategically important partner – Russia. The President of the European Commission rejected the possibility of three-way talks (BBC, 2013).

In the following year, according to Ukrainian media, “the biggest protests since the Orange Revolution were being held” in the capital of Ukraine (News UA, 2016). Moreover, introduction of the controversial laws and force used by the Ukrainian Government against the protestors instigated the public. Ukrainians demanded president's impeachment (News UA, 2016). In February 2014, in fear for his life, President Yanukovich fled the country without formal resignation. Following month, the new Prime Minister signed all the necessary provisions for the AA and in May 2015, Ukraine voted for a new president in an election not held in the east of the country. (BBC, 2014)

In many ways, the situation was created by combination of factors as well as due to the active involvement of Russia, the EU and US in the process. The aftermath was a violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity by the Russian Federation, wide unrests across eastern parts of Ukraine, and thousands of civilian casualties. The conflict was considered “the most dangerous in Europe since the wars in the former Yugoslavia” and received much attention around the world. Moreover, the crash of the Malaysia Airlines Flight in the eastern Ukraine brought the country into the focus of global attention. (BBC, 2014)



The events were covered by all large media services. Parties involved were reported to use the media channels to personal advantage, which transformed the conflict into a media war. Media as an effective means by which parties shaped and communicated the conflict made the role of language all the more important (Pantti, 2016).

## **1.2 Features of newspaper discourse**

Roger Fowler (1991, p. 4) argues that “news is a representation of the world in language”. The content of newspaper is not a general statement of the facts, it is a constructed representation of thoughts and beliefs, which have social and ideological origin (ibid). With the popularisation of mass media culture, newspaper register as representation of real discourse has been extensively studied by various researchers. Biber (1988) was among the first who conducted a thorough study of news text from grammatical point of view. According to Biber (2003, p. 169), over the years, English newspaper discourse has been subjected to profound changes. In the twenty-first century, due to the explosion of information and digital technologies, written communication became more efficient and compressed in style.

Biber (2003, p. 173) notices that the language style of modern-day newspapers is characterised by the clear narrative tone and prominent use of nouns, prepositions, and adjectives. According to Biber (2003, p. 170), the tendency is motivated by considerations of saving space and enables the journalist to condense large amount of information in a single phrase. Ni (2003, p. 162) also notices the same trend and adds that frequent use of noun phrases in news became major characteristic feature of modern media. Moreover, peculiar to the newspaper discourse is an absence of the first-person singular and the use of passive voice. Another characteristic feature of the news reports is the usage of acronyms and abbreviations instead of the full expression (Semino, 2009, 444).

The more recent study on the language in news text was conducted by Krennmayr (2011). In the study, Krennmayr (2011) looked at the “three-way interaction between word class, register, and metaphorical use of words”. The researcher’s analysis of the four different registers (academic texts, news, fiction, conversations) has shown that there is a direct influence on how a word class, metaphor, and register interact. The more frequent and thus more prominent use of a word class naturally raises the number of metaphorically used words. For instance, in news register, frequently used verbs are typically also metaphorical. Moreover, Krennmayr’s study has shown that 97 per cent of all words in the registers studied were used metaphorically, which, as the author admits herself (2011, p. 133), supports the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its main claim about the ubiquity of metaphor.

The newspaper reports are typically divided into the hard news, soft news, and editorials. The hard news is reported immediately and generally concern politics, commerce and world affairs, while soft news cover leisure and entertainment topics (Semino, 2009, p. 441). The typical structure of a news article includes the headline, attribution, indicating who wrote the piece; sometimes lead, with the short summary of the article, followed by the main body (ibid.). The reports often include direct and indirect quotations from the participants involved in the event.

Semino (2009, p. 446) admits that although the news reports are expected to represent purely facts and to be objective, it is rarely so. Every piece of the written news reflects the ideology of a newspaper and tries to satisfy its main readership (ibid.). In Biber and Conrad’s (2009, p. 40) view, there are other situational characteristics that might influence news writing, including participants (journalists and editors) involved in creation of a text, relations among these participants, channels of interaction with audience, production circumstances (time) and so on. For instance, on-line news

articles prefer to use noun phrases with pre- and post-modifiers. This allows to compress plenty of information within a single sentence and save space (Biber, 2003, p. 179).

All these situational and communicative characteristics directly interact with language features of a news text. And the differences in situational features will be inevitably reflected in a different choice of words made by the author (Krennmayr, 2011).

### **1.3 Previous studies on conceptual metaphors**

Semino (2008) argues that the news reports are full of metaphorical language. Metaphors might be employed simply to attract our attention or to illustrate better author's point of view. However, a metaphor might be used deliberately to persuade the reader to act. Such persuasive function of the metaphor notices Charteris-Black (2009) as well. In Charteris-Black's (2009, p. 103) view, a metaphor has strong persuasive function in a text because it mediates between the cognition and emotion. Lakoff (1991, p. 5) was bolder in his claims about the power of metaphor saying that it may even create realities.

The statements about the power of metaphor in a discourse led to its extensive research. And since the mass media is a good representation of a real discourse, significant amount of the research focused on studying metaphors in newspaper articles. For instance, the studies have looked at how one and the same event has been metaphorically conceptualised by different newspapers (Semino, 2002; Charteris-Black & Musolff, 2003), or how a single conceptual metaphor has been employed by the mass media in trade and academic publications (Eubanks, 2000).

Semino's (2002) study shows that conceptual metaphors resulting from the personification (HUMAN domain), and source domains JOURNEY and CONTAINER were the most frequent in all newspapers studied. The results were not surprising because, as the author admits herself (2002, p. 135), these source domains are highly conventional and can be used to talk about wide range of

targets (ibid).

Semino (2002, p. 113) notices that the conventional metaphoric expressions were used to conceptualise the currency either as a container or as a moving object, while the creative linguistic expressions were the signals of different attitudes towards the process of introduction of the euro. For instance, in Italian data the BIRTH metaphor was used to express positive or neutral view of the euro (e.g. *the euro has been born*), and in the British data, the euro was compared to *heavyweight baby with ugly name*, which confirmed negative attitude towards the currency (ibid. p. 117).

Charteris-Black and Musolff's (2003) similar study of the British and German editions of the *Financial Times* shows reliance of linguistic expressions on highly conventional HEALTH and UP/DOWN source domains. The authors explain such results partially by the subject of exploration: the study investigated articles over the period when the euro currency was weakening (ibid. p. 173).

Eubanks (2000) investigated how TRADE IS WAR metaphor is employed in mass media. Linguistic expressions such as *trade war*, *conquering a foreign market*, and *fighting economic battle* were the most frequent instantiations of the metaphor (ibid. p. 31). However, when Eubanks compared the usage of WAR metaphor in trade discourse with WAR metaphor in business discourse, he noticed that instead of claiming and endorsing the metaphor, in business speakers prefer to ascribe it to the opponents (ibid. p. 140). Other frequent metaphoric patterns were MARKETS ARE CONTAINERS and MARKETS ARE GAMES (ibid. p. 165). The author hypothesises that the metaphor MARKETS ARE CONTAINERS has positive value, as it focuses on the separation needed to protect the US markets from foreign commercial intervention (ibid. p. 166).

Lakoff (1991), Musolff (2004), Goatly (2007), and Charteris-Black (2009) analysed the employment of conceptual metaphors in the argumentative speech. According to Lakoff (1991, p.

3), metaphors are crucial in the “construction of social and political reality” and can even kill. Lakoff’s (1991) study of the Gulf War suggests that conceptualisation of America as a HERO and Iraq as a VILLAIN “raping” Kuwait, led to WAR IS A FAIRY TALE scenario and served as a justification for the US’s intervention in a conflict.

Charteris-Black (2004, p. 41) is careful in arguing that conceptual metaphors predetermine a certain interpretation and says that to explore ideology, metaphors should be studied based on Critical Metaphor Analysis approach. However, Charteris-Black (2004, p. 41) is convinced that political leaders should be careful in their choice of words not to create realities that can kill.

Koller (2004), Skorczynska and Deignan (2006), and Krennmayr (2011) have adopted more practical approach towards the study of metaphors in discourse. The researchers have investigated different registers of language (Krennmayr 2011), as well as sub-genres of news reports, focusing among others on business news reporting (Skorczynska & Deignan, 2006; Koller, 2004).

Koller (2004) studied business texts appearing in the *Economist*, *Business Week*, *Financial Times*, and *Fortune* newspapers. The author concludes that business discourse systematically draws on the WAR metaphor. Koller (2004, p. 125) argues that BUSINESS IS WAR metaphor helps to reinforce image of business as a male practice.

Skorczynska and Deignan’s (2006) study of the business texts showed extensive use of wide range of source domains. The most prominent were WAR, HUMAN, LIFE, EATING, MACHINES, MECHANICS, ILLNESS, JOURNEY AND NAUTICAL and GAMES. However, when analysing metaphors in journalistic texts for researchers, the scholars identified only six major domains – HUMAN LIFE, MECHANICS, JOURNEY, GAMES, HUNTING AND CLOTHING (ibid. p. 92). Although the metaphors were conventional, their linguistic realization varied. For instance, JOURNEY metaphor was realised linguistically as *bump*, *road*, *station* in scientific business corpus and as a *free ride* in popular

business corpus (ibid. p. 93). The authors conclude that the difference in source domains for metaphors is influenced by purpose of the text and its intended readership (ibid. 101.). These findings also support Krennmayr's (2011) statement about the direct three-way interaction between word-class, metaphorically used unit and the type of register.

## **2 Theoretical Background**

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the theory of conceptual metaphor. In Section 2.1 I will introduce Cognitive Linguistics and its approach to the study of language. In Section 2.2 I will examine in details the theory of conceptual or cognitive metaphor and how it is used in linguistic studies. Sub-section 2.1.1 will present metaphor within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Sub-section 2.1.2 addresses the issue of interrelation between metaphor and metonymy. Sub-section 2.2.3 briefly discusses conventionality of metaphors both on linguistic and conceptual levels. Sub-section 2.2.4 presents alternative theories to the study of cognitive processes involved in creation of metaphorical meanings. Sub-section 2.2.5 is dedicated to the question whether metaphors can be universal.

In Section 2.3 I will introduce an approach to the study of metaphorical patterns that is used to reveal social practices called Critical Metaphor Analysis. In Section 2.4 briefly I will outline main issues that cognitive linguistic analysis in general and CMT are criticised of.

### **2.1 Cognitive Linguistics: Language and Thought**

Cognitive Linguistics as the branch of linguistics appeared in the late 70s with the works of Charles Fillmore, Wallace Chafe, George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker, and Leonard Talmy. In the course of time, each of these scholars adopted own perspective on the language study. However, common

claim of their research was that meaning should be the focus of linguistic analysis. Concepts like prototypicality, metaphor, metonymy, categorization, and mental spaces are central subjects of the cognitive linguistics research (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2010, p. 4).

Geeraerts (2010, p. 8) summarises the most important claims about the language within the Cognitive Linguistics. Firstly, the superiority of semantics in linguistic analysis, i.e. the most important function of language lies in expression of meaning. Secondly, meaning does not stand separately, it has encyclopaedic nature. In other words, linguistic meaning involves knowledge of the world and is based on different cultural experiences. Finally, linguistic meaning is perspectival in nature, i.e. language does not reflect the world objectively and imposes structure on it. To put it briefly, in the Cognitive Linguistics language is a storage of structurally categorised knowledge of experiences, and by analysing systematic patterns of linguistic structure one can learn about the conceptual knowledge of a person. According to Steen (2013, p. 28), such cognitive turn in linguistic research also turned metaphor into a matter of thought.

## **2.2 Language and Thought: Metaphor**

The studies on metaphors can be traced as far as to Aristotle. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle described metaphor as a transference of a word from its proper domain to a new one through existing close relations (Levin, 1982, p. 43). Although Aristotle's theory was rather abstract and incomplete, his initial analysis resulted in what is now known as metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche. Moreover, in this work he summarised the main key to a production of a good metaphor – ability to identify similarity (ibid. p. 44). On the negative side, Aristotle saw in metaphor its ornamental function, and claimed that it was an optional way to describe a situation that can otherwise be expressed literally.

In the twentieth century scientists go beyond the oversimplification of metaphor to mere

comparison between two entities. Dawes (1998, p. 27) believes that for the first time, cognitive function of metaphor was noticed by I.A. Richards in *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1936). Contrary to the common view that the meaning of the sentence is understood through the meaning of its words, Richards argued that the meaning of words are derived from the meaning of the utterance in which they occur. In his attempt to bring back the study of rhetoric, Richards insisted that metaphor is not an ornament used by writers but it is common in everyday language. According to Richards, metaphor is a comparison between two things involving transition of a word from its normal use to a new context (Dawes, 1998).

Particularly significant in *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1936) was introduction of the terms *tenor* and *vehicle*. In Richards' discussions, the *tenor* is the object or person meant, and the *vehicle* is the image whose attributes are used in comparison. Thus, we can understand the tenor through the description of the vehicle. These two components are in interaction with each other, and the connection between the two is usually based on dissimilarities rather than likeness (Dawes, 1998, p. 28).

The importance of interaction between words in creation of metaphor supported another language theorist – Max Black (1955). In his Interaction Theory, Black (1955, p. 273) demonstrated two necessary elements of a metaphor: a *principal* and *subsidiary*. According to Black (1955, p. 278), a metaphor picks out a system of relative features from a subsidiary subject and projects them onto a principal subject. In a *Man is a wolf* metaphor, principal subject is a *man* and the subsidiary subject – a *wolf*. Each subject with own features is brought together, and the contrast between the two is enough to elicit the metaphorical meaning. Broadly speaking, in Black's theory (1955), the principal and subsidiary subjects correspond to the terms of a *tenor* and *vehicle* earlier adopted by I.A. Richards (1936).



Max Black (1955, p. 293) was convinced that the process of interpreting metaphors is an intellectual operation, adding that some instances of metaphor can be easily identified, whereas others might require consideration of pragmatic intentions of the speaker.

Another philosopher who tried to understand metaphor was Monroe Beardsley (Dawes, 1998, p. 20). Beardsley argued that metaphor declares meaning of linguistic expression within a context, and compared metaphors to “miniature poems”. Beardsley’s premises in many respects were similar to Black’s (1955) theory in suggesting that a metaphor creates meaning through interaction of its primary and secondary subjects (Dawes, 1998, p. 20). Thus, whenever there is indirect self-contradiction in an expression, a metaphor emerges.

According to Beardsley, to interpret a metaphor, one should follow principles of *congruence* and *plentitude* (Dawes, 1998, p. 20). The principle of congruence lies in the logically and physically appropriate choice of connotations to be attributed to the subject. The principal of plentitude asserts that all connotation that can be found to fit a metaphor, must be attributed to it. Such approach, according to Beardsley, would expose the reader to the semantical richness of expressions, however subtle or obscure they might be (Dawes, 1998).

Dawes argues (1998, p. 29) that by conceiving metaphor as a result of tension between literal meanings of a tenor and a vehicle, Richards (1936), Black (1955) and Beardsley (1958) treated metaphor as a deviation from a word’s literal meaning and thus overlooked its cognitive status. In his later theory, however, Black (1979) rejected his previous claims of purely comparative nature of metaphor and argued that metaphor has power to evoke connections between the two abstract entities (Dawes, 1998, p. 29).

Idea of metaphor as a matter of embodied thought originates from the work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980). In *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) they argue that metaphors are evidence

of concrete experiences. To prove their point, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 4) discuss the following expressions (original emphasis):

- (1) Your claims are *indefensible*.
- (2) He *attacked every weak* point in my argument.
- (3) His criticisms were *right on target*.
- (4) I *demolished* his argument.
- (5) I've never *won* an argument with him.

The scholars are convinced that it is ordinary to talk about arguments using words *attack*, *demolish*, and *win*, because in Western culture people experience argument as being at war with opponents. And it is when the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR arises. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5)

### **2.2.1 The Conceptual Metaphor Theory**

Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) claim that the human mind is metaphoric in nature differed from the traditional view on interaction between language and thought. They argued that "metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 6). According to this statement, we talk about being *in love* because abstract concept LOVE is structured by the experientially derived concept of the CONTAINER. We can further project the embodied experience and with the help of the metaphor structure other concepts as in *The government is in a deep crisis* (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 46). Their theory of metaphorical thought was called the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and was further developed and empirically supported by Mark Turner (1989, 1991, 1996), Mark Johnson (1980, 1987, 1999), Andrew Goatly (1999, 2007), Raymond Gibbs (1994, 2003, 2011), and Zoltán

Kövecses (2005, 2010), to name a few.

In their earliest work, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 5) defined *metaphor* as “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.” Such broad definition, as Lakoff admits himself (1992), led to many confusions in the corpus-based studies of the metaphors. Thus, in his Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (1992), Lakoff specifies that *metaphor* is a process of “cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system,” which is manifested as a TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN.

Zoltán Kövecses (2005, p. 3) defines *metaphor* as “understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain.” Musolff (2004), having adopted more socio-pragmatic approach to metaphor, defines it as a “transference of a non-expert knowledge about a familiar area of experience, the source domain, onto a less familiar topic in a different domain” (ibid. p. 9). According to Musolff (2004, p. 9), metaphor arises when there is a clash of topical application of a term in a text (e.g. political crisis) and its normal lexical field (VIOLENT CONFLICT). Lexical field includes commonly held beliefs, folk theories, and encyclopaedic knowledge about the source topic.

Goatly (2007, p. 11) briefly defines *metaphor* as “thinking of one thing (A) as though it were another thing (B)”, where A is the Topic or TARGET and B is the Vehicle or SOURCE. Thus, to get a metaphor we must think of a target domain in terms of a source domain, linking A and B in terms of similarity or analogy (Goatly, 2007, p. 7). The process of establishing similarities is called *mapping* (ibid).

The example of what is a metaphor in CMT will make it clear. Previously mentioned metaphoric linguistic expressions (1 – 5) have to do with arguing and come from the source domain WAR. Ideas from the source domain are mapped onto the target domain, and the corresponding

conceptual metaphor will be manifested as ARGUMENT IS WAR. The process of mapping involves drawing similarities based on the correspondences between domains (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 26). Thus, according to the theory of Lakoff and Johnson, the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor will get the mapping:

Source: WAR		Target: ARGUMENT
Enemies	⇒	Opponents in discussion
Battle	⇒	Verbal discussion
Weapon	⇒	Words
Attack	⇒	Process of proving own point
Victory	⇒	Succeeding to prove own point

This kind of mappings happen in our mind and the process is unconscious. It is only that for the purpose of analysis linguists bring correspondences to the surface (Kövecses, 2010).

Based on the cognitive function, correspondences between the source and target domain can be structural, ontological, and orientational (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 26-32). In structural metaphors target domain is structured in terms of basic and clear elements, such as participants, objects, or location (Kövecses, 2010, p. 38). In the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor mapping between the two domains is structural.

Ontological metaphors are usually so-called CONTAINER or OBJECT metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 29). Kövecses (2010, p. 38) points out that ontological metaphors are very general category and unlike the structural metaphors, cannot be used to understand much about the target domain. Example of an ontological metaphor is the EVENT IS PHYSICAL OBJECT (*going to the race*) or STATE IS CONTAINER (*in love*). Regardless of highly general nature, according to Kövecses (2010, p. 39), these metaphors can be used by the speaker to linguistically quantify and refer to abstract concepts in a more specific manner (e.g. *my fear*). Furthermore, once the target gets the

status of an OBJECT or CONTAINER through an ontological metaphor, the conceptualised experience can be “structured further by means of structural metaphors” (ibid). Thus, if MIND IS OBJECT, one can provide more structure saying *My mind is not operating this morning* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 27) employing MIND IS MACHINE metaphor. Another obvious case of ontological when non-human is seen as a human, as it is in the case of personification.

Orientational metaphors, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 25), organise target concepts in terms of spatial orientations, for instance up-down, in-out or back-front. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 15) give such examples of linguistic expressions as *to fell ill*, *rose from dead*, in top shape, and *health is declining*, to illustrate metaphors SICK IS DOWN and HEALTHY IS UP. Kövecses (2010, p. 40) adds that orientational metaphors give even less conceptual structure for target domains. However, they give coherence to the target concepts in our mind due to the reliance on basic human spatial orientations. Gibbs and Wilson (2002, p. 526) add that orientational metaphors of type SICK IS DOWN and HAPPY IS UP are the clearest source of evidence that metaphors are grounded in physical experience. Since most of mammals lie down when sick and get up again as soon as they recover, orientational metaphorical expressions prove that metaphors are experientially motivated.

### **2.2.2 Metaphor and metonymy**

In the Cognitive Linguistics relationship between metonymy and metaphor has attracted great deal of attention. The classical approach to the study of figurative language makes a clear distinction between two, stating that metaphor is a figure of similarity and metonymy – figure of contiguity (Maalej & Yu, 2007, p. 8).

According to Kövecses (2010, p. 257), a good method to determine whether an expression is metaphoric or metonymic is to apply an “is like” test. If an expression makes sense when

paraphrased with “is like” then it is a metaphor (6), otherwise it is a metonymy (7):

- (6) The creampuff was knocked out in the first round of the fight.  $\Rightarrow$  The boxer is like a creampuff.
- (7) We need a new glove to play third base.  $\Rightarrow$  The third baseman is like a glove.

Thus, metaphor involves mapping across two distinct conceptual domains, whereas in metonymy mapping occurs within a single domain (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 103). The same view on the metaphor is supported by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2002, pp. 491-496), Kövecses (2010, p. 175), Mujic and Kraljevic (2013, p. 158). For example, metonymic relations can be expressed by the conceptual metonymies PRODUCT FOR PRODUCT, WHOLE FOR THE PART, EFFECT FOR CAUSE, CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED AND PLACE FOR INSTITUTION (Kövecses, 2010, p. 175). Kövecses (2010, p. 179) emphasises that metonymies like EFFECT FOR CAUSE through the process of generalization motivate more elaborate conceptual metaphors (ANGER IS HEAT). Musolff (2004, p. 8) points towards research that questions such intra- versus inter-domain mappings within metaphor and metonymy. Dirven (2003), Panther and Radden (1999), and Goossens (2003) assume that there is a two-way interaction between metaphor and metonymy, which can be called *metaphonymy*.

In brief, as pointed out by Maalej and Yu (2007, p. 8), in the studies of metonymy three important claims emerge: firstly, metonymy is not only a matter of linguistic substitution but fundamental process that underlies much of our cognitive process. Secondly, many metaphors are motivated by the conceptual metonymies, which are more experientially grounded. Thirdly, the boundaries between metaphor and metonymy are fuzzy. In the light of these claims, Yu (2007, p. 9) demonstrates the place of metonymy in the mapping process between concrete experience and

a metaphor: experience → metonymy → metaphor → abstract concept.

### 2.2.3 Conventionality of metaphor

Critics argue (Black, 1993; Deignan, 2005) that trying to prove that metaphors are indeed evidence of “underlying mental structures” (Deignan, 2005, p. 14), CMT looks mostly at the metaphorical expressions which metaphorically used prepositions, verbs and other expressions (typically relational in nature) in combination with literal phrases (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 194), original emphasis):

- (8) I'll see you *at 2 o'clock*.
- (9) He is *in danger*.
- (10) Her anger *boiled over*.
- (11) She's had to contend *with many obstacles* in her life, but she has come a *long way since* her days in the orphanage.

Examples (8 – 11) are conventionalised linguistic expressions common in everyday life, and grammatically and semantically different from novel creations, in which X is Y is expressed explicitly as in (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 195):

- (12) Juliet is the sun.
- (13) My wife...whose waist is an hourglass.

Expressions (8 – 11) as Deignan (2005) argues, resemble *dead metaphors*, a term used in traditional metaphor studies (Black, 1993; Newmark, 1981; Snell-Hornby, 1988). However, Lakoff and Turner (1989, p. 55) argue that precisely these automatic metaphoric expressions were so “alive” that with time they conventionalised “to the extent that [they were] automatic, effortless,

and generally established as a mode of thought among members of linguistic community”, thus objecting use of the term *dead metaphor* and making it unnecessary in their theory. Instead, Lakoff (1989) and Turner (1989, 1991) talk about the degree of conventionality, arguing that unconventional expressions (original or novel) are poetic ones and based on extensions of conventional metaphors.

As to the unconventional metaphors, as in examples (12) and (13), according to Lakoff (1992) and his improved Contemporary Theory of Metaphor, these are instantiations of image metaphors. Image-metaphors do not employ schemas and are generated by two images brought together. These have very specific nature and are also called a “one-shot” metaphors. Lakoff (1992, p. 231) suggest that in *My wife...whose waist is an hourglass* part (the waist) of the body is mapped onto part (shape) of the hourglass and being one-shot, it has no general structure as in conventional conceptual metaphors ARGUMENT IS WAR or MORE IS UP.

In the light of above view, CMT distinguishes between conventionality and novelty at the linguistic and the conceptual levels. Conceptual metaphors may be conventional (e.g., LOVE IS A JOURNEY) or novel (e.g., LOVE IS COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART), or, as Lakoff and Turner (1989, p. 55) say, they have level of their conventionality. At the linguistic level, as Kövecses says (2010, pp. 66-68), metaphors may have conventionalised or unconventionalised (creative, novel) linguistic realization (e.g. Our relationship *is off the track*. vs. We are traveling *in the fast lane on the freeway of love* as realizations of LOVE IS A JOURNEY).

Kövecses (2010, p. 64) adds that it is more common to see a conventional conceptual metaphor being realised by a creative linguistic expression than vice versa. For instance, target domain love has highly conventional conceptualisation: JOURNEY (We’ll just have to *go our separate ways*), FIRE (*burning* with love), PHYSICAL UNITY (We are *as one*), INSANITY (I’m *madly*



in love), ECONOMIC EXCHANGE (She *invested a lot* in that relationship), PHYSICAL FORCE (She *attracts me irresistibly*), ILLNESS (She *has it bad*), and so on. However, if experiencing of love “fall outside the range of these conventional mechanisms”, people might use less conventional metaphor LOVE IS COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART (2010, p. 64). Interestingly, Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), when discussing this conceptual metaphor do not give any example of its linguistic realization, which leads Kövecses (2010, p. 36) to conclusion that these instances are extremely rare.

Goatly’s (2007) approach to the conventionality of metaphors is similar. Based on the level of the complexity of interpretation, on linguistic level Goatly (2007, p. 29) distinguishes between the original and conventional metaphors. According to Goatly (ibid. p. 22) original (“live” or “active”) metaphoric expressions are those that require listener’s active participation in interpretation, whereas conventional metaphoric expressions (“dead” or “inactive”) demand less conscious processing effort. For instance, conventional linguistic metaphor *economic growth* requires less interpretative efforts than more original *economic cancer* (ibid. p. 28). However, as Goatly points out (2007, p. 29), original metaphoric expressions have greater ideological effect on listeners than conventional ones.

Finally, to defend the weakness of CMT, which lies in viewing expressions like *stay the course* as metaphorical, Gibbs (2011, p. 534) suggests concentrating on offering an alternative hypothesis. The researcher advocates that calling an expression an *idiom*, *simile*, or *literal* does not answer the question of their existence and thus critics should not label linguistic evidence as “dead” (Gibbs, 2011).

#### **2.2.4 Alternative theories of metaphor**

In his paper, Gibbs (2011, p. 531), a fierce proponent of CMT, explicitly stated that CMT concerns

primarily metaphors where the target domain is implicit, such as in *I don't see the main point of that paper*, motivated by KNOWING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor but not resemblance metaphors where both the source and target domains are explicit, as in *My job is a jail*.

To account for metaphoric expression that do not get much attention in CMT, new theories and hypotheses were offered. One of the most cited is called Blending Theory (BT) developed by Fauconnier and Turner (1994, 1998). The theory is a blend of the standard Conceptual Metaphor Theory and a Mental Space Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998). If in the standard CMT there are two domains, in blends there is also a third entity – the imaginative space where two domains are blended (Kövecses, 2010). However, unlike in CMT, the two domains do not share the same properties, they are two separate input spaces. Kövecses (2011, p. 26) says, that to get a blend, is no need for a metaphorical source or target, because blends are constructed on-line in communication, admitting that it is much broader phenomenon than metaphor.

Fauconnier and Turner (2008) point out that separate input spaces might relate to each other as source and target, and form a conceptual metaphor. How blends and generic space work can be seen in the *look before you leap* proverb (Kövecses, 2010, p. 231). Generic meaning “you should consider the consequences of your actions before you act” comes from the two input spaces: one includes looking and leaping domain, the second includes all the cases to which the proverb is applied: life, marriage, work, where metaphors like THINKING IS LOOKING and the Event Structure submetaphor action is SELF-PROPELLED MOTION establish the generic space between two input domains (ibid). Grady (1999) empathises, that BT focuses on particulars of individual examples unlike CMT that focuses on the study conventional associations, as mentioned by Gibbs (2011). In such light, BT describes certain phenomena with greater systematicity and can be regarded as addition to CMT and not contradictory.

Kövecses (2010) tried to demonstrate how contextually motivated statements would be explained by different theoretical models within Cognitive Linguistics.

- (14) *My life is a jail.* (Gibbs, 2011, p. 531)
- (15) *This surgeon is a butcher.* (Kövecses, 2010, p. 450)
- (16) *Science is like a glacier.* (Steen, 2013, p. 39)

In the “standard” Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the linguistic expression (15) would yield the conceptual metaphor SURGERY IS BUTCHERY (Kövecses, 2010, p. 451):

Source BUTCHERY		Target SURGERY
The Butcher	⇒	The surgeon
The tool: the cleaver	⇒	The tool: the scalpel
The animal	⇒	The human being
The commodity	⇒	The patient
The sloppiness of the butcher	⇒	The sloppiness of the surgeon

The blending account of the sentence will include two input spaces of SURGEON and BUTCHER, and a blended space, which inherits from the source input BUTCHER and the tool, and from the target input – SURGEON with his activity (Kövecses, 2010, p. 452). In the blend emerges the surgeon who uses means of butchery to heal patient, and according to Grady (1999) the inference of incompetence is motivated by the blend structure.

Lakoff’s (2008) Extended Theory based on the neural theory of metaphor, example of *This surgeon is a butcher* yields A PERSON WHO PERFORMS ACTIONS WITH CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS IS A MEMBER OF A PROFESSION KNOWN FOR THOSE CHARACTERISTICS conceptual metaphor (Kövecses, 2010, p. 453).

With the help of these examples, Kövecses (2010, p. 456) demonstrates how different theories would account for the meaning of the same sentence, and what cognitive mechanism might be required to understand it. Although all theories seem to have strong points, Kövecses (2010, p. 457) concedes that no single theory can explain the full cognitive process behind the meaning construction and each should be considered as contribution to another.

### **2.2.5 Universality of metaphor**

When investigating cross-cultural variation of conceptual metaphors for anger in English, Chinese, Japanese, Polish and Hungarian, Kövecses (2005) noticed that conceptualisation of an angry person as a PRESSURISED CONTAINER was common to all these cultures. Other research on conceptual metaphors suggest that the same conceptual metaphors are present in variety of languages and cultures. Ning Yu (1998) explored Chinese metaphors. A comparison between Chinese and English showed that HAPPINESS IS UP metaphor, also discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is common to both languages.

Deignan (2005, p. 104) points out, over past years, in trying to establish a list of most important conceptual mappings in different languages researchers made the notion of conceptual metaphor unreliable and unclear. She argues that the same target domain of happiness was found to be conceptualised as HAPPY IS UP, HAPPY IS LIGHT, and HAPPY IS NATURAL FORCE. Kövecses (2010, p. 85) says that several sources are employed because each source emphasises separate aspect of a target. Thus, happiness can get conceptual metaphors of HAPPINESS IS AN OPPONENT or HAPPY IS LIGHT, because each metaphor highlights different aspect (inability to control vs. goodness) (ibid. 99). The phenomenon described above has been referred by Goatly (2007, p. 12) as diversification. The diversification phenomenon is opposite to multivalency, where the source applies to different target domains.

Based on empirical evidence from numerous other research of linguistic expressions for basic-level emotions Kövecses (2010, p. 174) concludes, that conceptualisation of emotions as containers and forces are common in many languages. Kövecses (2005) links conceptualisation of emotions as forces to the similarities of physiological experiences across cultures. Under these evidence, Kövecses (2005), concludes that conceptual metaphors based on bodily experiences can be considered nearly universal.

Domains that are less grounded in physiological experience, as Kövecses (2010, p. 176) notices, are often motivated by another potentially universal system of metaphors - the Event Structure metaphor. In the Event Structure metaphor (Lakoff, 1992) target domains are comprehended as locations, forces and movements as in STATES ARE LOCATIONS (they are *in love*), ACTION IS MOVEMENT (we are taking the first *step*), and CAUSES ARE FORCES (The hit *sent* the crowd into a frenzy). (Kövecses, 2010, p. 174)

Kövecses (2010, p. 176) explains near-universality of the Event Structure metaphor (Lakoff 1993) in connection with metonymy, where a subcategory of a domain stands for the category as a whole. Thus, the Event Structure metaphor has one major sub-metaphor EVENTS ARE MOVEMENTS which has a metonymic relation in it. The Event Structure metaphor also explains why in various languages different target domains are conceptualised as journeys.

Grady (1997) explains that universality of conceptual metaphors in terms of the *complex* and *primary* metaphors (Kövecses, 2010, p. 150). According to Grady, *complex* metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS is composed of primary metaphors LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. Gibbs (2011, p. 537) adds that mappings between the source and target domains can still be partial, but at least a complex metaphor places limits on what can be mapped. According to Kövecses (2010, pp. 201-217) , complex metaphors are not experientially

motivated, while primary metaphors are embodied and have potential to be universal. However, the researcher makes a clear statement, that none of the conceptual metaphors are purely universal, as there is always a pressure of context.

### **2.3 Critical Metaphor Analysis**

Charteris-Black (2004, p. 11) criticises purely cognitive approach to the study of metaphor, in which the only explanation for existence of metaphor is our experience. He argues that stating that metaphor is purely unconscious matter does not explain why one metaphor is preferred over another in a particular context. For instance, the choice of an experientially motivated space metaphor over a time metaphor can be ideologically motivated.

Fowler (1991, p. 4) argues that “there are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives” and by “using appropriate linguistic tools, and referring to relevant historical and social context, Critical Linguistics can bring ideology... to the surface for inspection”. Koller (2004, p. 37) adds that metaphoric linguistic expressions as evidence of conceptual metaphors “are a valuable starting point to study cognitive and ideological determinants of discourse”. For instance, conceptual metaphors BUILDING or JOURNEY in “*negotiations proceeded in a step-by-step fashion*” or “*it has holes in it*” imply different evaluation of the process (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 100). In cases like these, as Charteris-Black (2004, p. 249) points out, the “cultural, ideological, and affective motivation combine” according to communicative purpose. Steen (2013, p. 28) also argues that metaphor is not just a matter of thought and language, it is a matter of communication, thus social approach is required.

Charteris-Black (2004) offers Critical Metaphor Analysis to explain why different metaphors are used in a discourse. Critical Metaphor Analysis is an “integration of corpus linguistics with Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.

41). By identifying metaphorical uses of language in corpora and analysing how language is used by the speakers in different social domains, Charteris-Black aims to reveal ideology. Charteris-Black (2004, p. 247) is convinced that because metaphors might be deliberately chosen by the speaker to achieve specific goals in communication, metaphoric language might have important ideological role.

The idea of metaphor as an ideological tool is supported by Goatly (2007, p. 335). In his study *Washing the Brain: Metaphor and Hidden Ideology* (2006) he lists COMPETITION IS RACE, IMPORTANT IS FIRST, ACTIVITY IS FIGHTING, HUMANS ARE ARMY among the metaphor themes in English which construct competition in modern society. Goatly (2007, p. 337) argues that these themes conflict with the medieval conception of activities as peaceful interaction, and emphasise hostility and animosity.

Kövecses's (2006, p. 137) analysis of American society through Alexis de Tocqueville's book, brought different aspect to the PERSON metaphor and America was conceptualised as a defective person. The author underlines that such metaphor affected the way in which people conceptualised the whole situation and consequently affected the actions – defects had to be compensated by external forces, taxation.

Musolff's (2004) study *Metaphor and Political Discourse* explored British and German stance on Europe. The author concedes (Musolff, 2004, p. 172) that the metaphors are extremely attractive tool in public discourse. Trying to “score points” in public debates, politicians make use of wide range of metaphors committing to “anything goes” (ibid).

Kövecses (2010, p. 420) summarises factors which might influence the use of metaphoric expressions in a discourse. These factors include immediate linguistic context. For instance, instead of saying that the process *moves* in conventional way, the author might use unconventional

linguistic metaphor *shifts into higher gear* as in sentence *The Americanization of Japan's car industry shifts into higher gear* (PROGRESS IS MOTION or EVENTS ARE MOVEMENTS). Since the sentence concerns car industry, it was more natural for the author to use this expression to emphasise the increase of intensity.

Physical and social settings may also influence on the use of metaphors. For instance, Kövecses (2010, p. 425) suggests that in *The 2005 hurricane capsized Domino's life*, the verb *capsized* is used by the journalist as a result of the visible consequences of the devastative power of a hurricane. In *The rock 'n' roll pioneer rebuilds his life – and on the new album "Goin' Home,"* his timeless music LIFE IS A BUILDING metaphor is used because, as Kövecses reasons (2010, p. 430), the person in question was repairing his house destroyed by the hurricane. Thus, choice of metaphorical expression *rebuilt* was socially more appropriate than saying, for instance, *set out again on his path* or *got it to work* (LIFE IS JOURNEY or LIFE IS MACHINE). This could be the reason why conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A BUILDING was triggered.

## 2.4 Criticism of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Lakoff and Johnson's work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) promoted large number of research on metaphor. With the increase of publications came an increase in inconsistency and variations of the approaches into the study of metaphor. Among the linguists, the criticism has been directed both to CMT and to the approaches used in the study of metaphor within cognitive science in general (Steen, 2013).

Musolff (2004, p. 13) points out the fuzziness of conceptual domains in CMT. In ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor, linguistic expressions like *attack*, *win*, *strategy* has more to do with fighting or conflict in general than specifically with a war. The problem of systematicity in the mapping was recently tackled by Kövecses (2010, p. 139) and Gibbs (2011, p. 534). According to the scholars



CMT's solution to the problem is based on the notion of *primary metaphor* and *invariance hypothesis* (ibid.).

In recent paper on CMT, Gibbs (2011) summarises two issues that cognitive linguistic analysis is criticised of. The first one concerns the data and metaphor identification methodology, the second – data interpretation (ibid. p. 532).

Pragglejaz Group (2007) calls traditional metaphor research an intuitive analysis, arguing that researchers take for granted which expressions are metaphorical. Moreover, the group blames researchers for paying little attention to which target domain a particular metaphorical expression actually belongs to when used by a speaker in a discourse. (Kövecses, 2010, p. 24)

Gibbs (2011) admits that linguistic research favouring CMT often fails to provide explicit guidelines for identifying metaphors, and uses self-constructed and isolated examples to draw conclusions. These might raise questions about CMT suggesting its difficulty or even falsity. However, Gibbs remarks (ibid), despite different approaches and criteria, most of the scholars reached similar results about conceptual metaphors, which points towards trustfulness of the essential tenets of CMT.

In the defence of CMT, Kövecses (2011, p. 25) points out that one should recognise different levels at which metaphor functions: supra-individual (de-contextualised conventional metaphorical expressions), individual (contextualised), and the sub-individual (natural and motivated) level. CMT is formulated at the supra-individual level, and the criticism about the intuitiveness in identification of metaphors concerns individual level.

The problem of irregularity in linguistic metaphors according to Kövecses (2011) lies in different methodological approaches to the metaphor analysis. If bottom-up direction is used as by Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005) into the study of conceptual metaphors, then irregularities in

the corpora will emerge. Whereas a top-down approach towards metaphor analysis, a traditional practice within CMT, will emphasise the regularity and might misrepresent the results slanting conceptual metaphors towards their universality. Kövecses (2011, p. 33) is convinced that for the full understanding of metaphors evidence from both approaches should be taken into account.

As to the data interpretation and claim within CMT that human thought is metaphoric in nature, Deignan (2005, p. 108) describes lack of consensus, and points towards numerous psycholinguistic experiments supporting and opposing the role of conceptual metaphors in speaker's comprehension of figurative language.

### **3 Methodology**

The thesis is a comparative study of the metaphor use across three different subcorpora. It combines qualitative and quantitative analysis, which therefore enables the discussion of the results in consideration to the contextual factors (political and social). In this chapter, I will explain the data selection process and the method used for the analysis. The chapter details the features of publications in the subcorpora as well as the method used for identifying and analysing metaphors. The results of the analysis will be presented in Chapter 4.

#### **3.1 Data for the study**

The data for the study include collection of articles on the situation in Ukraine from major British, American, and Russian newspapers. The decision to concentrate on British, American and Russian newspaper reports is not accidental. The three countries' government involvement in the events made Ukraine crisis the central topic of news reports. While contrastive attitudes towards the situation, with the EU and USA acting as a judge and Russia as an aggressor, were largely reflected

in the language used by the media of the nations. Analysis of metaphorical conceptualisation of the events by participants with opposite stance might raise the discussion of ideological use of metaphor. Thus, the choice of the data seemed particularly reasonable.

Specifically, for the study machine-readable text corpus with overall amount of 106 newspapers and approximately 66 6000 words was compiled. The corpus includes three data sets of British, American and Russian publication with approximately 22000 words each (see Tables 1, 2, and 3). The fact that the corpora include different types of publications (broadsheets, tabloids, and daily online news reports by news broadcasters) is due to their different average article length. Broadsheet *The New York Times* and *the CNN* in American corpus have the longest articles, while as an online news provider *Interfax* shows the shortest average article length. To keep the bias at minimum, I aimed to make sure that similar types of publications contribute roughly the same amount of words to each corpus. The data for the corpus were retrieved in electronic form via LexisNexis Academic databank at the University of Tampere. In Russian data set *The Moscow Times* newspaper articles were taken directly from the website.

The main factor for including newspapers to the corpora was their high circulation figures. Moreover, I aimed to include publications which target wide range of audience. The articles vary in genre (opinion, news report, regular column), however all of them deal with the Ukraine crisis and are published between 2013 and 2014.

The American news corpus includes publications from *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *Daily News* and *CNN* with overall of 32 articles. Table 1 presents the exact data on publications in the American corpus. *USA Today* is reported to have the highest circulation figure of around 800 000 copies daily and 7 million readers (USA Today, 2016). Founded in 1982, it is a middle-class daily newspaper that is famous for the concise style, distinct graphics and images, and inclusion

of popular stories in its reports. The newspaper shares its popularity in the USA with *The New York Times*.

*The New York Times* is a broadsheet that has daily print circulation of around 590 000 copies in the USA (The New York Times, 2016). Although the paper does not have the highest circulation figures, its language is often regarded as an example of “editorial excellence” that avoids “sensationalism” and aims for objectivism (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2015).

**Table 1** Data on publications in the American subcorpus

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Number of articles of corpus</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Number of words</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Average article length</b>
USA Today (UT)	12	37%	5545	25%	462
Daily News (DN)	10	31%	5339	24%	534
The New York Times (NYT)	5	16%	5516	25%	1103
CNN	5	16%	5707	26%	1141
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>22107</b>	<b>100%</b>	

*Daily News* was the first daily American tabloid founded in 1919. It is published in the New York City and has daily circulation of around 500 000 copies. The tabloid is famous for its cover pages featuring provocative photos of famous people and reports on scandals, violence, and crime. (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2010)

*CNN* is an American cable news broadcaster that provides news reports through its 24-hour TV-channel to over 90 million households in the USA. The *CNN* news website launched in 1995

offers news, blogs and original articles covering wide range of topics on word news, politics, finance, technology, entertainment and style (CNN, 2017).

**Table 2** Data on publications in the British subcorpus

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Number of articles of corpus</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Number of words</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Average article length</b>
The Times	15	37%	10335	46%	689
The Telegraph	15	37%	7369	33%	491
The Independent (IND)	8	19%	3410	15%	426
Daily Mirror (DM)	3	7%	1372	6%	457
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>22486</b>	<b>100%</b>	

A total of 41 articles make the British data set comprising articles from *The Times*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *The Daily Mirror* publications. Table 2 presents the detailed numbers on publications included in the British news corpus. All four publications are daily newspapers published in London.

*The Times*, established in 1785 and with daily circulation of 440 000 copies, belongs to so-called Britain's "big three" quality papers (Ponsford, 2017). *The Telegraph*, established in 1855 and with circulation of 460 000 copies is the second of Britain's "big three" (*The Guardian* being the third one) and is the main rival of *The Times* newspaper (Ponsford, 2017). Both newspapers are highly recognised in Britain for their consistency with high standard in reporting and faithfulness to the middle-class audience.

*The Independent* is the “youngest” newspaper in the subcorpus. Founded in 1986 by the former employees of *The Telegraph* it aimed to establish the politically independent newspaper that could provide objective news for a well-educated middle-class citizen (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016). The newspaper started as a broadsheet with average circulation of over 90 000 printed copies. However, it gradually changed into a tabloid, and since 2016 the readers can access the paper exclusively online. Having changed the style, the paper claims to remain true to its “independent in mind” readers who list climate change as a major concern (Burrell, 2016).

*The Daily Mirror* is the only tabloid paper in the British subcorpus, however it has the largest circulation of more than 700 000 copies as of 2016 (Ponsford, 2017). Founded in 1903 as a newspaper for women, the tabloid has been consistent with sensational headings and personal types of stories. *The Daily Mirror* claims to adopt neutral stance on political issues and “common man versus bureaucracy” approach to the news reporting (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2010).

42 per cent of the articles in the Russian subcorpus come from the sole non-governmental English-language newspaper *The Moscow Times* (see Table 3). The publication was founded in 1992 as a daily newspaper by a Dutch publisher, however in 2015 it has changed into a weekly magazine. The magazine is free of charge and is distributed at places frequent with tourists. The magazine is popular among the English-speaking citizens of Russia and has a circulation of 55,000 copies. *The Moscow Times* often publishes articles by journalists who have strong political views and are often critical of Russian political system. (Luhn, 2015)

**Table 3** Data on publications in the Russian subcorpus

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Number of articles of corpus</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Number of words</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Average article length</b>
The Moscow Times (MT)	18	42%	12184	55%	677
ITAR-TASS (ITAR)	17	39%	7581	35%	446
Interfax (INTER)	8	19%	2248	10%	281
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>22013</b>	<b>100%</b>	

More than half of the news reports on the crisis in Ukraine in Russian data come from the major Russian news agencies: *ITAR-TASS* and *Interfax* (see Table 3). *ITAR-TASS* is Russia's biggest state-owned news agency and the fourth largest in the world (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2010). It was founded in 1904 and during the Soviet times TASS had exclusive rights to distribute domestic and foreign information within all the Soviet republics. Today *ITAR-TASS* with its headquarters in Moscow delivers news on politics, business, finance to Russian and foreign corporate subscribers, media organizations, financial companies and industrial enterprises. (TASS, 2016)

*ITAR-TASS* also publishes news on its website, which provides around the clock reports on major topics from politics and economics, military and defence to sports and entertainment. The content is created by more than 1 500 employees working in 140 offices and bureaus around the world. (TASS, 2016)

Another news agency, which news reports are included in the corpus, is *Interfax* (see Table 3). *Interfax* was founded in 1989 as the first non-state news agency in the Soviet Union. The agency

with its headquarters in Moscow and more than 70 offices throughout Russia, the Commonwealth of Independent States, and China provides news to Russian and foreign media, corporations, investors and financial professionals. (Interfax, 2015)

Today around 1000 employees worldwide create daily and weekly reports on major political, economic, and military issues from governmental as well as non-governmental sources. The news agency itself claims to be a “reliable and objective news provider” whose reporting quality became a standard for Russian media. In addition to current affair reports, *Interfax* provides financial and economic information for businesses, and publishes interviews with industries’ professionals on its website. *Interfax* clients can either subscribe to receive information or read free news reports online. (Interfax, 2015)

### **3.2 Methods employed**

The present study adopts a corpus-based approach to the study of metaphor. It combines computer-assisted and manual extraction of metaphoric linguistic expressions with qualitative analysis along the lines of Critical Metaphor Analysis as offered by Charteris-Black (2004).

For the study, I was searching for metaphorical expressions based on the target domain vocabulary. Since the present thesis aims to investigate the metaphors describing the general situation in Ukraine during 2014, I will focus on the word *crisis* and semantically related lexical items (e.g. *situation*, *event*, *unrest*, *turmoil*, *conflict*, and *war*) as the keywords for the target domain. The source domain will be an area from which the metaphors are drawn (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 80).

The concrete procedure will involve: firstly, reading all the articles and find where the word *crisis* or target domain vocabulary appears. Secondly, identifying the instance where the lexical unit in reference to the target domain vocabulary (*crisis*, *event*, or *situation*) appears to be



metaphorically used. This step includes employing the Pragglejaz group's (2007) metaphor identification procedure.

The Pragglejaz group's (2007) metaphor identification procedure presupposes determining for each word in the discourse the basic contemporary meaning. Following the Pragglejaz group's (2007) guidelines, if a lexical unit has more concrete meaning that differs from the contextual one, the item is marked as metaphorical. To see whether two meanings are distinct enough and a lexical unit can be considered metaphorical the Oxford English Dictionary Online will be consulted.

To conduct an appropriate quantitative analysis, I will follow Semino's (2002) practice adopted in the similar study where all metaphorically used items that belong to the same source within one sentence are counted as one instance of a metaphor:

- (17) Sergey Lavrov on Tuesday ruled out holding a second international meeting in a bid to defuse the **crisis** in Ukraine (CNN, May 6, 2014)

Following the procedure in (17) metaphorically used preposition *in* and word *bid* will be marked as an instance of one metaphor and classified under the GAME source domain. Moreover, metaphorically used preposition *in* or *through* will be counted as an instance of the CONTAINER metaphor only if they appear with the target domain lexical item *crisis*.

The final step includes grouping all the metaphorical expressions under the common source domain. Again, following Semino's (2002) practice, common semantic field is the main criteria for metaphorical expressions to be assigned to a particular source. It is important to mention that boundaries between the source domains are not always clearly defined (Section 2.4). To avoid overgeneralization in my analysis, the source domain headings for the metaphorical expressions will be selected based on the Kövecses's (2010) findings and other frequently discussed source

domains in CMT. In the result section I will concentrate on the most frequent source domains across the three subcorpora and try to explore the underlying conceptual metaphors in the A-IS-B pattern (Goatly, Section 2.2.1).

Finally, as to the typographical conventions, small capitals will be used for the conceptual metaphors, while italics for the linguistic metaphors or, in other words, metaphorical lexical items. For the sake of convenience, bolding is used to mark the target domains of the study. The abbreviations used for the newspapers are mentioned in connection with the tables presenting the data on publications in Section 3.1.

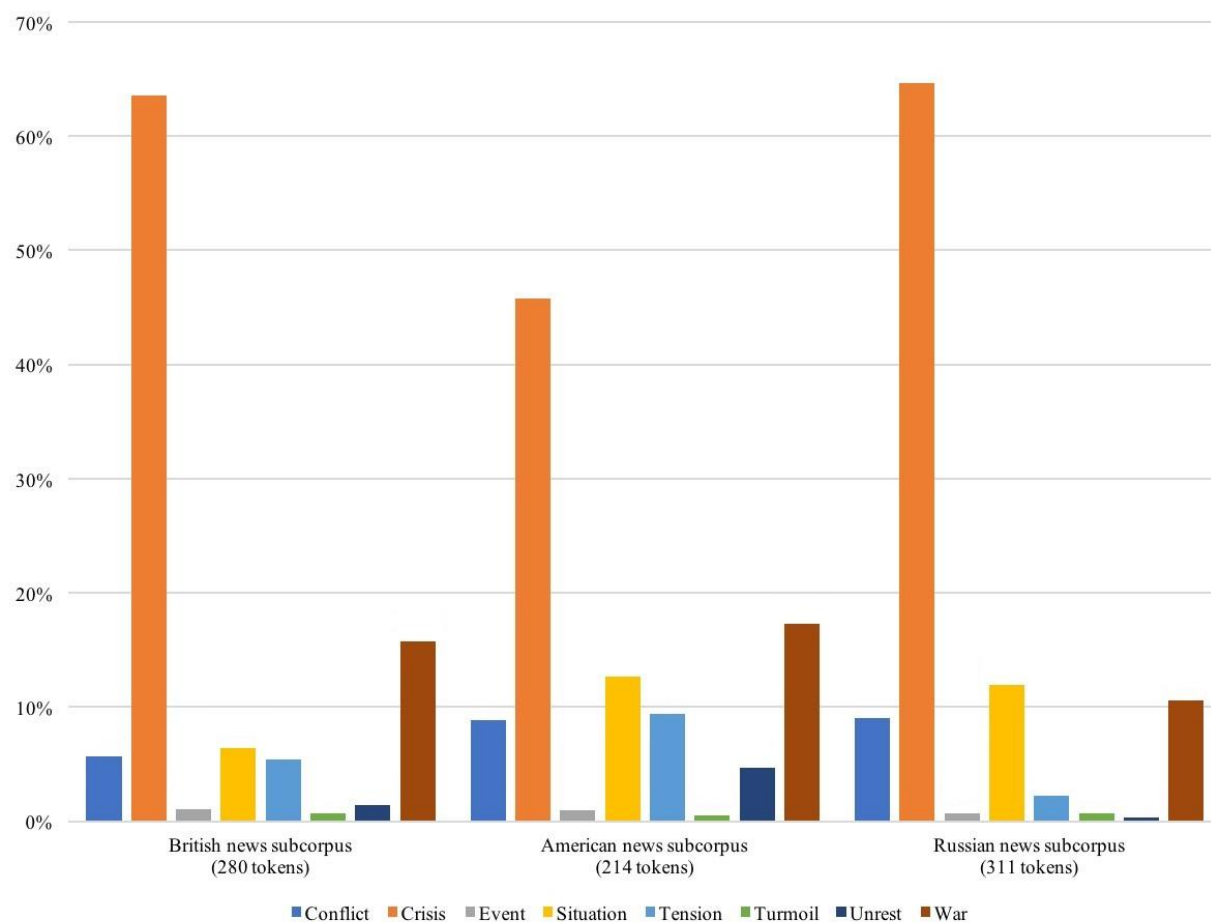
## **4 Results**

The chapter provides details on the metaphoric representation of the Ukraine crisis in the British, American and Russian subcorpora. Firstly, a brief overview of the most frequently used nouns in reference to the Ukraine crisis across the three subcorpora is provided. The rest of this chapter presents and discusses the most prominent source domains for metaphors found in the corpus. The frequencies of the conceptual metaphors per one thousand words alongside the absolute frequencies is presented in the form of a table.

### **4.1 The most frequent referring nouns**

To proceed with the study of the metaphorical language concentrated around the Ukraine crisis, I wanted to investigate the lexis employed in the news reports and to compare the most common words used by the three subcorpora to refer to the events in Ukraine in 2014. For this purpose, the Wordsmith tool 6.0 was used. The word count from Wordsmith allowed to calculate the frequencies of the nouns from the lexical field of crisis in the corpus. The Wordsmith concordance

list assisted in considering only those instances where the nouns referred to the events in Ukraine, and disregarding instances like e.g. *situation in Syria*. Figure 1 shows the most representative nouns in the three subcorpora.



**Figure 1** The most frequent referring words in the corpus

The word with the highest frequency in the corpus was *crisis* with 447 tokens, followed by the nouns *war* (114 tokens) and *situation* (82 tokens) (for the absolute frequencies see Appendix 2). Moreover, in the British and Russian news subcorpora the word *crisis* scored over 60 per cent

among all the referring expressions. In total, there were 805 tokens of referring nouns found in the corpus.

The second most common referring noun in the corpus was *war*, however its number of occurrences differed in the three subcorpora. In the American and British news subcorpora, the noun comprised more than 15 per cent of all instances. In the Russian news subcorpus, the *war* reference was used in 11 per cent of the cases and was placed only as the third most frequent. *Situation* as a referring noun had also different number of occurrences with the highest value in the American and Russian subcorpora (around 12 per cent).

The word *conflict* was also frequently used to describe the events in Ukraine and the three data sets showed approximately similar distribution of the referring expression. Interestingly, some of the nouns such as *tension* and *unrest* with relatively high frequency in the British and American subcorpora, were extremely rare in the Russian news subcorpus.

Moreover, high frequency of the referring expression *crisis* can be attributed to the time frame of the data sample. The events in the country developed gradually, and what started as a *crisis* only gradually developed into a *war*. Thus, the period under consideration may affect the lexical choice. Dissimilarities in the frequencies of the referring expressions can be attributed to the ideological considerations in publications, however the difference is too marginal to make such conclusions.

## **4.2 The most frequent source domains**

The results of the study show that the British, American, and Russian subcorpora employ the same source domain for metaphors (Table 4). All three subcorpora rely on the domains of LIVING BEING, OBJECT, SUBSTANCE, NATURAL FORCE, DISEASE, JOURNEY and GAME/WAR in construction of the Ukraine crisis.

**Table 4** Frequencies of the metaphoric patterns in the corpus

Source	Target	American news corpus		British news corpus		Russian news corpus	
		N	Freq. per 1000 words	N	Freq. per 1000 words	N	Freq. per 1000 words
Living Being	Crisis	5	0,23	10	0,44	12	0,55
Object/Container	Crisis	17	0,77	25	1,11	23	1,04
incl. Substance		2	0,09	2	0,09	2	0,09
Natural Force	Crisis	3	0,14	12	0,53	3	0,14
Disease	Crisis	1	0,05	1	0,04	5	0,23
Journey	Situation in the country	14	0,63	17	0,76	14	0,64
War	Situation in the country	5	0,23	2	0,09	5	0,23
Game/Competition	Situation in the country	12	0,54	14	0,62	6	0,27
Art/Dream	Situation in the country	2	0,09	2	0,09	1	0,005

However, the analysis shows that there is a slight difference between the subcorpora in the frequency of use of these source domains. For instance, the Russian subcorpora employs the domain of GAME less when compared to the American and British subcorpora. In addition, the NATURAL FORCE conceptual domain is more frequent in the British subcorpora. Moreover, the qualitative analysis revealed a marked difference across the three subcorpora in the linguistic realizations of the same conceptual metaphor.

In order to show the main ways in which the Ukraine crisis was conceptualised, the presentation of the results will concentrate on the most frequent source domains across the three subcorpora. The target domain of the metaphors is either *crisis* as an entity, or the situation in Ukraine more generally including participant of the events (Table 4.).

#### 4.2.1 CRISIS IS AN OBJECT/SUBSTANCE

The most frequent metaphorical pattern in all three subcorpora is where the crisis is conceptualised as an object. There are 17 instances (0.77 per 1000 words) in the American, 25 (1.11 per 1000 words) in the British and 23 (1.04 per 1000 words) in the Russian subcorpora of linguistic

expressions realising the CRISIS IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor. In CMT, metaphors that structure activities, events and ideas in terms of clearly discrete and bounded entities are called ontological (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 25) Examples (18 – 21) illustrate the ontological CRISIS IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor:

- (18) ...methods of *untangling* the **crisis** (ITAR, April 17, 2014)
- (19) Obama's *handling* of the burgeoning **crisis** (DN, March 1, 2014)
- (20) *Gravity* of the **conflict** (IND, February 23, 2014)
- (21) One can *feel* the **crisis** being defused. (The Times, June 11, 2014)

Words *untangle*, *handle*, *gravity* and *feel* are used metaphorically since they all involve viewing crisis as an object that can be felt or touched physically (OED: *untangle* v. 1 'free from a twisted state'; *handle* v. 1 'physically manipulated with hands'; *gravity* n. 1 'the degree of intensity, measured by acceleration'; and *feel* v. 1 'be aware of a person or object through touching or being touched').

The linguistic expressions in (18 – 21) are deeply entrenched and conventionalised in English and rarely identified as metaphorical by the readers. These kinds of linguistic expressions have no emotional effect and are commonly used to talk about the crisis. However, in CMT the linguistic expressions are regarded to be realizations of the embodied OBJECT metaphor.

The abstract nature of the target domain CRISIS explains the high frequency of the OBJECT metaphor in the corpus. Reasoning about an abstract domain without conceptualising it as a physical entity would be impossible. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are convinced that conceptualisation of an abstract domain as an entity make it possible to refer to the concept or specify it:

- (22) So, let's be clear *whose crisis this is*. (The Times, March 3, 2014)
- (23) *This crisis is on Europe's immediate borders*. (The Telegraph, April 19, 2014)
- (24) *A more significant political crisis is further down the line*. (MT, Oct 5, 2014)

There are few instantiations of the CRISIS IS A SUBSTANCE conceptual metaphor. The frequency of realization CRISIS IS A SUBSTANCE conceptual metaphor is the same in the three corpora and equals 0.09 per 1000 words:

- (25) ...*brewing crisis* on the edge of Europe. (The Times, November 14, 2014)
- (26) **the situation** in Ukraine remains “extremely *volatile*”. (CNN, April 17, 2014)
- (27) Ukraine **crisis** *spreads* as Russians advance. (The Times, March 4, 2014)
- (28) current *bitter conflict* in Ukraine (MT, August 31, 2014)

The linguistic expressions *brew*, *volatile*, and *spread* (25 – 28) are usually used to talk about the liquids or substances (OED: *brew* v. 1 ‘make (beer) by soaking, boiling, and fermentation’; *volatile* adj.1 ‘easily evaporated at normal temperatures’; *spread* v.1 ‘open out (something) so as to extend its surface area, width, or length’). Interestingly, regardless of the high conventionality, instances (25 – 28) represent subtle difference in how they conceptualise the crisis. Specifically, both lexical items *brew* and *volatile* involve change of the properties of a liquid. However, *The Times* (25) article highlights the process, pointing that the events are not likely to change fast, while in the *CNN* news article the situation is *volatile* (26) – unpredictable and might change rapidly. The adverbial of quality *extremely* emphasises the speed with which the situation might turn to worse. Also, in (28) the *conflict* has ‘sharp, pungent taste or smell; not sweet’ (OED, *bitter* adj. 1), thus the expression suggests painfulness and unpleasant emotions implicated in the conflict.

As the analysis shows, extremely frequent in all three subcorpora are instances, where verbs in connection to the target domain vocabulary have been used metaphorically:

- (29) **The situation** is *spiralling out of control*. (Mirror, March 3, 2014)
- (30) The Ukraine **crisis** has already *spiralled* far beyond what anyone expected.  
(MT, October 5, 2014)
- (31) But if we do it right, the **crisis** in Ukraine will *wind up* in future history books  
(MT, April 17, 2014)
- (32) Ukraine **crisis** and economic slump *rattling* foreign real estate investors.  
(MT, March 17, 2014)

Metaphoric linguistic expressions in (29 – 32) belong to the semantic field of motion and can be considered as an instantiation of the CRISIS IS A MOVING OBJECT conceptual metaphor based on the ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS primary metaphor (Grady, 1997). Interestingly, the metaphorically used motion verbs *spiral* and *wind* commonly used in the three data sets emphasise the self-propelled movement of an object in a spiral way (OED *spiral* v. 1 ‘winding in a continuous and gradually widening (or tightening) curve; *wind* v. 1 ‘move in or take a twisting or spiral course’), while the verb *rattle* in (32) requires an active agency, it is not self-propelled anymore (OED, *rattle* v. 1.1 ‘to move with knocking sound’). Thus, the motion has an external agent (*crisis*) whose deliberate movement is directed at the specific object (*foreign real estate investors*).

In addition, the corpus presents evidence of the metaphorically used verbs belonging to the conceptual area of the dangerous objects or explosives:

- (33) The administration has been very careful since this **crisis** *blew up* 10 days ago  
(UT, March 14, 2014)
- (34) ...we shouldn't simply assume that everything [**crisis**] will *blow up* in the  
Kremlin's face. (MT, October 5, 2014)
- (35) Any *spark* may very well *ignite* a large-scale **conflict**. (MT, April 17, 2014)



- (36) ...**conflict** would have *flared up* unpredictably. (The Times, November 14, 2014)
- (37) **Ukraine** of today is a powder keg which will explode sooner or later. (ITAR, April 23, 2014)

The linguistic expressions in (33 – 34) come from the domain of explosives (OED v. 1 ‘explode’.), whereas (35 – 36) point towards flame and heat. These linguistic expressions are highly conventional way of referring to the events that entail any type of disagreement or violence and can be considered as realizations of the CRISIS IS A DANGEROUS OBJECT conceptual metaphor. In the Cognitive Linguistics, example (37) is called a blend and it is based on the conventional OBJECT conceptual metaphor. Here, Ukraine as a target domain gets the properties of the source domain category *powder keg*. In CMT, this type of an expression is frequently called a “one-shot” metaphors. (Lakoff, 1992, p. 231). In (37) the expression belongs to a Russian politician who unconsciously relies on the basic level OBJECT metaphor to compare Ukraine to a powder keg and, thus, to highlight the dangerous state of affairs in the country.

Comprehending the crisis as a physical object further allows us to view it as a container (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 30):

- (38) ...a breakthrough *in* the worst **crisis**. (The Telegraph, May 7, 2014)
- (39) ...*the centre of* the **crisis**? (Mirror, March 3, 2014)
- (40) ...six months *into* this **crisis**. (NYT, August 9, 2014)
- (41) ...a long time *in* this Ukrainian political **crisis**. (IND, February 23, 2014)

In (38 – 41) prepositions *in*, *into* and *centre of* have a basic physical meaning of a location and their use with the abstract domain of *crisis* makes them metaphorical. In the Russian subcorpus, the CONTAINER metaphor is frequently realised by the linguistic expression *deep*. In the

publications, metaphorically used adjective *deep* in (42 – 44) is used to emphasise the seriousness of the crisis:

- (42) ...a *deep* **crisis** of Ukraine's statehood. (ITAR, March 21, 2014)
- (43) The current situation in Ukraine is conditioned on the *deep* **crisis** in the state. (ITAR, March 17, 2014)
- (44) Ukraine is in a *deep* political **crisis**. (ITAR, April 2, 2014)

According to the cognitive linguists, putting boundaries on the natural environment is part of the basic human instincts (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 30). The metaphoric expressions found in the British and American subcorpora can serve as linguistic evidence of such statement:

- (45) ...*the doors to a diplomatic solution* [of the **crisis**] *remain open* (CNN, May 6, 2014)
- (46) Ukraine **crisis**: *Is Russia moving in?* (IND, March 15, 2014)

In (45) and (46) the conceptual area of containment is constructed by metaphorically used words *door* and *move in*. In (45) the *door* entails the presence of bounded space. Interestingly, in the concrete scenario of (45) the doors “remain open”, whereas in the scenario (50) the boundaries are rigid and containment has no entry. The expression *moving in* implies the violation of the borders and unwanted intrusion into other’s personal space. Considering the importance of personal space for humans (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 30), such intrusion is considered unwelcome. The author of the expression might refer to the unauthorised presence of the Russia’s military force in Ukraine. In 2014, active involvement of Russia in the Ukraine crisis led to concentration of overwhelming number of Russian soldiers in Ukraine. Such unwanted presence was regarded as illegal by many.

All the examples mentioned above are highly entrenched and conventional in nature. In the traditional studies of metaphors, these types of linguistic expressions are often referred as dead or inactive metaphors (Section 2.2.3). There were, however, instances in the corpus when the general CRISIS IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor is elaborated creatively and serves to construct the complex metaphors of the WAR and GAME:

- (47) The **crisis** in Ukraine is a *man-made* one to a large extent and it should be blamed squarely on the euro-bureaucrats, whose biased policy of “*fencing off*” Russia have brought about the current situation, in which Ukraine's statehood is at risk (ITAR, April 15, 2014)
- (48) Separatists open a *new front* in a **crisis** *manufactured* and *fuelled* by Russia. (UT, August 24, 2014)

In the (47) and (48) scenarios, the crisis is conceptualised as an object that can be physically created or manufactured. What is noteworthy here is that creators of the crisis in each scenario are different. In the *ITAR-TASS* news article (47), the creators are “the euro-bureaucrats” – the expression is used to refer to the EU’s politicians and represents the case of metonymy. And in the news article by the *USA Today* (48) the initiator of the crisis is Russia.

Both expressions have clearly ideological aspect. The expression in (47) belongs to the Russian analyst, whereas in (48) to the American politician. Both instances are quotations used by a journalist in the news reports. The analyst makes use of the OBJECT metaphor to highlight the “creation” aspect of the crisis. Thus, the analyst implies that the main reason for the unfolding events in Ukraine was the involvement of the EU in the crisis. Moreover, the analyst structures the situation in Ukraine as a game employing the linguistic expression *fencing off* in the same sentence. In (46) *fencing off* is used to create a scenario in which the crisis is a sport game and Russia is an opponent. Interestingly, by explicitly stating *biased policy of “fencing off”* the analyst suggests

that framing Russia as an opponent is prejudiced and unfair. As in the case of (47) expression in (48) realises the basic CRISIS IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor, however, unlike in (47) the conceptual metaphor serves to structure the crisis as a war. (More on the GAME and WAR metaphors in Section 4.2.4)

#### **4.2.2 JOURNEY of the Ukraine crisis**

In CMT, the JOURNEY metaphor is considered a major metaphor used to conceptualise any type of purposeful activity that requires some time for its realization. Thus, the JOURNEY metaphor has wide scope as it can be applied to wide range of target domains (Kövecses, 2010, p. 114). In the Cognitive Linguistics, expressions such as *to be at the crossroads*, *to come far* and *off the track* are instantiations of the JOURNEY metaphor. Charteris-Black (2004, p. 74) explains that the expressions draw from the domain of journey as a prototype domain for purposeful activity that entails motion in physical space from a beginning to an end point.

Later, Lakoff (1992) and his colleagues in the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor reformulated the notion of conceptual metaphor. To account for the frequent metaphorical use of the motion verbs they offered the most basic conceptual metaphor called the “Event Structure metaphor” (Lakoff, 1992). Kövecses (2010, p. 243) points that The Event Structure metaphor is used to conceptualise particular features of events (state, change, cause, actions, purpose of actions) rather than things (as for instance with object metaphors). These features are then “understood metaphorically in terms of such physical concepts as location, force, and motion” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 243). Thus, in the Event Structure metaphor system, the JOURNEY metaphor became a complex metaphor made of the simpler primary conceptual metaphors as described by Grady (1997) (ACTION/CHANGE OF STATE IS MOTION, PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD, PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION) and commonplace knowledge.

The complexity of the JOURNEY metaphor explains its salience in the corpus. The conceptual area of the JOURNEY was the second most frequent source of metaphorical expressions in the data. The density of the JOURNEY metaphor is similar in all three subcorpora with an average of 0.67 metaphoric expressions per 1000 words (Table 4.).

The results of the study prove the claim about the wide scope of the JOURNEY metaphor. The findings illustrate that linguistic expressions stemming from the journey domain can be applied to various targets. In (49) the JOURNEY metaphor is applied to describe the general situation in Ukraine:

- (49) The Ukrainian **crisis** has no easy or swift solutions. We should be ready *for a long journey with a lot of bumps on the road*. (MT, April 17, 2014)

In the scenario of (49), the JOURNEY metaphor not only conceptualise the situation in the country as a slow process but it has also *lot of bumps* in it. The implication is clear: finding the solution to the crisis is not going to be easy. Moreover, such implication is explicitly supported in the same extract by the previous statement.

The JOURNEY metaphor employed in (49) is a product of a Russian journalist and the conceptualisation of the crisis as *a journey with a lot of bumps* implies negative bias. In addition, direct statement about the crisis that has ‘no easy or swift solutions’ illustrates pessimistic predictions as to the development of the events in Ukraine.

As the analysis of the corpus reveals, almost all linguistic expressions from the journey source domain are highly conventional and are based on the Event Structure metaphor system:

- (50) The **crisis** in Ukraine, *which led to* Russia annexing Crimea (The Times, April 19, 2014)
- (51) demonstrated inspiring courage and resilience *through recent times of crisis* (UT, March 10, 2014)
- (52) [intervention in Ukraine **crisis**] *is the road to* miscalculation and futile intervention in other people's civil wars. (The Times, March 3, 2014 Monday)
- (53) **Ukraine-EU roadmap** would soon be discussed in Brussels (ITAR, February 3, 2014)
- (54) The Western partners believe that this is *the only way to* overcome **the crisis**. (ITAR, March 21, 2014)

In (50 – 51) the linguistic expressions *lead* and *through* require some type of motion along the path (OED, *lead* v. 1 ‘Show (someone or something) the way to a destination by going in front of or beside them’, *through* prep. 1 ‘moving in one side and out of the other side of (an opening, channel, or location)’). Moreover, in English words *road* and *way* in (52 – 54) are highly conventional conceptualisations for means of achieving or obtaining something.

All three subcorpora exhibit frequent metaphorical use of the lexical items *step*, *turn*, *course* and *move forward* to talk about different types of changes and actions:

- (55) John Kerry says Russia *must take steps to* end Ukraine **crisis** (Independent, June 27, 2014)
- (56) ...other possible *steps to* de-escalate **the crisis** between their countries (The Telegraph, June 6, 2014)
- (57) The statement - which appears to be the *biggest step toward* calming **the situation** (CNN, April 17, 2014)
- (58) He expects all sides, moving *forward*, [...] to implement *the steps* [...] which will contribute to a lasting solution to this **crisis**. (ITAR, April 18, 2014)
- (59) The Ukraine **crisis** *has taken another worrying turn* tonight (DM, March 3, 2014)

In (55 – 59) *stepping* and *turning* involves movement in space. Expressions in (55 – 59) can serve as evidence of the ACTION IS MOTION primary metaphor. The lexical items are conventionally

used to talk about progress towards a goal, which in the scenarios (55 – 58) is ending of the crisis. In addition, all three subcorpora equally employ lexical items from the train journey source domain:

- (60) Whether economic stagnation and the **crisis** .... will be enough *to derail* investment growth. (MT, March 17, 2014)
- (61) Then there will follow a return of the political **situation** *back on the legal track*. (ITAR, April 15, 2014)
- (62) decision to annex the peninsula ... left the two sides *on a collision course* (NYT, March 15, 2014)

The linguistic expressions *track*, *derail*, and *course* draw from the journey domain; however, the journey entails a vehicle as a means of travel. Linguistic expressions in (60 – 62) highlight absence of straight movement or motion of a vehicle, implying difficulties involved in the process. From the cognitive perspective, examples in (60 – 62) are based on the primary submappings DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION.

As the analysis reveals, the linguistic expressions realising the JOURNEY metaphor in the data are highly entrenched and lexicalised in the English language. However, there is evidence in the corpus where the high condensation of the figurative language extends the conventional JOURNEY metaphor:

- (63) Ukraine's *blazing* **revolution** *has sent Downing Street into European wilderness*. (The Telegraph, February 22, 2014)

Metaphoric linguistic expression in (63) appeared in *The Telegraph* newspaper. It was used as a heading for an article covering the situation in Ukraine. However, in the focus of the article was not Ukraine but Britain. The author of the article claims that absence of Britain's Foreign

Secretary at the emergency meeting on the “Europe’s gravest **crisis** since the Balkans war” (The Telegraph, February 22, 2014) might signal about country’s unwillingness to be involved in the rest of the Europe’s affairs.

In (63) the JOURNEY metaphor supersedes the NATURAL FORCE metaphor. Linguistic expression *blazing revolution* in (63) implies force and speed with which the events in Ukraine unfolded and draws from the source domain of the natural force (OED *blaze* n. 1 ‘very large and fiercely burning fire’). The *Downing street* is used for the Government of the United Kingdom and represents instance of metonymy, whereas the expression *send into European wilderness* entails spatial movement, traveller and a destination. According to (63), the traveller is en route not to an abstract destination, as often implied metaphorically, but to a physically existent place. However, in the scenario (63) the place is uninhabited and inhospitable – *wilderness*. Conceptualisation of Europe as *wilderness* leads to the inferences that Britain sees Europe as a hostile and unfriendly environment for itself. Therefore, the country is not ready or does not want to be involved in the settlement of the crisis that is happening far away from its borders and has no direct effect on it.

By evoking the image of a journey to the uninhabited place the correspondent clearly aimed to attract readers’ attention. Moreover, *The Telegraph’s* article is full of metaphoric language: the European Union’s usual *troubleshooting*, Ukraine was *gearing up*, in East-West *trials of strength* and *empire-builders* in Brussels, etc. Such abundance of metaphors serves as evidence about the prominence of metaphorical language in the media discourse as suggested by Semino (2009).

#### **4.2.3 GAME/WAR and DISEASE metaphors**

The decision to discuss the GAME and WAR metaphors in the same section was based on the Koller’s claim that these source domain clusters are highly interrelated (2004, p. 81). Koller (2004, p. 68)



suggests that the high frequency of the *win, lose, battle, field, game* and *play* lexemes in the media discourse leads to the convergence of the WAR, GAME and SPORTS metaphors (ibid.).

Similar observation was made when analysing the corpus for the present study. The polysemy of the lexemes required detailed analysis of each linguistic expression in the context to further determine the appropriate source domain. For the purpose of the quantitative analysis, lexical items that could function as instantiations of both the GAME and SPORTS metaphors were counted as an instance of the more general GAME metaphor. Moreover, lexical items that derived exclusively from the military domain were counted as the instances of the WAR metaphor.

Linguistic expressions that draw from the domain of the GAME are especially dominant in the America and British subcorpora. The density of the metaphoric expressions realising the metaphor is 0.54 and 0.62 per 1000 words, respectively (Table 4). In the Russian subcorpus, the density is twice lower and equals 0.27 tokens per 1000 words. The evidence for the GAME metaphor is presented below:

- (64) Russian President Vladimir Putin is *playing a dangerous game*. (CNN, March 3, 2014)
- (65) Belarussian President Alexander Lukashenko seems to be using the Ukraine **crisis** in an elaborate pantomime *to score points* with all sides. (MT, April 22, 2014)
- (66) At the heart of this *risky game* is **Ukraine**. (The Times, November 14, 2014)
- (67) **The crisis** represents a “game-changer”. (The Telegraph, July 31, 2014)
- (68) Both sides Nato and Russia *taking shots at each other* over the Ukraine **crisis** (The Telegraph, May 9, 2014)

As the corpus analysis illustrates, the lexemes *game, score, points*, and *player* are among the most frequent to realise the GAME metaphor. Conceptualisation of the situation in Ukraine as a game is further supported by the metaphorically used lexical items from the gambling game source domain:

- (69) ...the decision [...] *raised the stakes* dramatically in the Ukrainian **crisis**. (The Times, March 7, 2014)
- (70) Investor's **Ukraine** *bet* looks dicey (The Times, December 16, 2014)
- (71) Putin *throws the dice*, Russia *is gambling* with the security (The Times, November 14, 2014)
- (72) One of the bond world's most powerful investors losses on a multibillion-dollar *bet on Ukraine's* recovery (The Times, December 16, 2014)
- (73) West have been *at odds* over **Ukraine**. (CNN, September 12, 2014)
- (74) ...military confrontation between the **U.S. and Russia** “is not in the cards.” (DN, August 29, 2014)

Notably, the American and British subcorpora use a range of games as a vehicle for the metaphors. In (69 – 74) the gambling game source domain highlights the unpredictability of the situation and reliance on the linguistic expressions from the domain leads to inferences that the crisis is a game with a high risk where the outcome of the situation is hard to predict. Moreover, there was an instance when situation in Ukraine was conceptualised as a chess game by the British newspapers:

- (75) President Obama was right to say that **Ukraine** can no longer be seen as *part of a “Cold War chess board”*. President Putin is known for his *zero-sum* approach to foreign affairs (IND, February 23, 2014)

In the scenario (75), the linguistic expression *part of a Cold War chess board* suggests that Ukraine is a piece in a chess game. The metaphor entails the chess pieces and a good strategy in order to win. What is interesting in the example (75) which piece President Obama sees Ukraine in this board game. In any case, the metaphor serves to present the situation in the country as a game where one should be aware of the possible unexpected moves of the opposite party.

Unlike the British newspapers, the American news articles exhibit the reliance on a different type of game in its conceptualisation of the Ukraine crisis:

- (76) Here are some of the questions *at play*, with a look at how *key players are weighing in*. (CNN, March 3, 2014)
- (77) Is Putin really *cornered*? Western powers seem to be banking on letting the Ukrainians *bloody* Moscow's nose (NYT, August 9, 2014)
- (78) The one *arena* where Russia *did take a beating*. (DN, March 4, 2014)
- (79) *Tussling Over Ukraine* (NYT, March 2, 2014)

In (76 – 79) the linguistic expressions come from the domain of boxing. Boxing as a vehicle for the metaphor highlights the violent side of the events in the country. Although, the expressions *bloody*, *beating* and *tussle* in (77 – 79) are instances of physical aggressiveness and could be regarded as instantiations of the WAR metaphor, their appearance in the context of *play*, *weighing in*, *cornered*, and *arena* support the sports game source domain.

Moreover, the detailed article analysis revealed the WAR metaphor was under-represented in the corpus. There were 5 instances in the American, 2 in the British, and 5 in the Russian subcorpora of instantiation of the WAR metaphor. Moreover, out of the 12 tokens realising the metaphor in the corpus, the most frequent lexemes were *front* and *war*:

- (80) Ideological *battle lines are drawn* around the world over the **situation in Ukraine** (CNN, March 3, 2014)
- (81) ...they *open a new front* in **a crisis** manufactured and fuelled by Russia. (UT, August 29, 2014)
- (82) ...tense “*war of nerves*” between **Moscow and Kiev** (UT, March 4, 2014)
- (83) ...unexpected appearance of a “*European front*” in **Ukraine**. (MT, April 10, 2014)
- (84) ...**conflict**, which has become the *cockpit of a "New Cold War"* between Russia and the West. (The Telegraph, August 16, 2014)

The low frequency of the WAR metaphor has a logical explanation and correlates with the previous findings on the most frequent referring nouns in the corpus. The three subcorpora

frequently referred to the situation as *war* and hence, used military related lexemes in their literal sense. Consequently, lexical items from the military domain could not be marked as metaphoric.

Although the WAR metaphor is under-represented in the corpus when compared to the other source domains, Lakoff (1991) underlines the importance of its entailments. According to Lakoff (1991), the WAR IS A FAIRY TALE scenario in which the US was a hero and Iraq a villain led to the justification of the Gulf War. The same observation was made when analysing data for the present study. In the British and American subcorpora metaphoric expressions framing Ukraine as a victim were especially common:

- (85) ...denigrated Ukraine would *suffer* a similar fate. (NYT, October 19, 2014)
- (86) Ukraine's *agony* (The Times, March 5, 2014)
- (87) *Ukraine's recovery*. (The Times, December 16, 2014)
- (88) The crisis in *economically-struggling Ukraine*. (The Telegraph, February 21, 2014)
- (89) Ukraine was not a divided country before its recent *woes*. (The Times, August 12, 2014)
- (90) ...*signs of hope for Ukraine* (The Times, June 11, 2014)
- (91) Today *Ukraine's future hangs in the balance*. (Independent, 23, 2014)
- (92) ...*dismemberment* of Ukraine... (The Times, August 12, 2014)

In (85 – 92) the metaphorical expressions relating to health highlight the physical struggle and pain of a person. Through the personification of Ukraine, the country is framed as a victim in the process. Interestingly, the expression in (93) is ambiguous. It works on literal level as well if the expression is intended to refer to the actions of Russian Government that led to annexation of Crimea in 2014.

The American and British articles also provide scenarios where through personification, Russia is conceptualised as an enemy or opponent:

- (93) ...led to **Moscow** *wresting* Crimea from Kiev in March. (CNN, May 6, 2014)

The expressions *wrest* has a basic physical sense of ‘forcibly pulling (something) from a person's grasp’ (OED). Thus, through the basic personification, the scenario is created where Moscow is conceptualised as opponent that can physically hurt.

Notably, the Russian subcorpus exhibits scant amount of evidence for the metaphoric expressions from the health domain framing Ukraine as a victim:

- (94) A divided Ukraine is *a vulnerable* Ukraine. (MT, Oct 13, 2014)

In the Russian subcorpus the expressions from the health domain were employed to conceptualise the crisis as a disease, albeit extremely rare:

- (95) Ukraine **Crisis** *has strengthened* Kremlin (MT, October 5, 2014)  
 (96) That is what makes the **situation** there so complex and *painful*. (MT, August 31, 2014)  
 (97) ...the IMF could provide transparent and optimal forms of *anti-crisis* aid. (ITAR, February 3, 2014)

It is important to note that CRISIS IS A DISEASE conceptual metaphor was not central to the corpus (Table 4). There were two instances in the British and American subcorpora and three in the Russian subcorpus where the linguistic expressions relating of the health domain could serve as evidence of the CRISIS IS A DISEASE conceptual metaphor:

- (98) Can “odd couple” Kerry and Lavrov *take the edge off* Ukraine **crisis** talks? (CNN, April 17, 2014)
- (99) ...**events** [ in Ukraine] are merely *a symptom of something larger*. (The Telegraph, April 19, 2014)

#### 4.2.4 CRISIS IS A LIVING BEING

The CRISIS IS A LIVING BEING metaphor includes examples in which the target domain CRISIS is conceptualised either by using lexical items associated with the humans or by ascribing characteristics only living beings can possess.

- (100) ...three-month-old political **crisis** *left* more than 60 anti-government protesters shot dead. (The Telegraph, February 21, 2014)
- (101) EBRD says Ukraine **crisis** *pushing* Russia into recession. (MT, November 18, 2014)
- (102) Ukraine **crisis** *shows* global governance is in a mess. (The Telegraph, April 19, 2014)
- (103) Will a political **crisis** *bleed into* an economic crisis? (UT, March 4, 2014)
- (104) Mr. Putin, however, seems *content to wait and watch* how the **crisis** *develops*. (NYT, March 2, 2014)

The crisis is an inanimate entity and referring to an inanimate object using a word that in other context is used with something animate is called personification (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21).

The verbs in (100 – 104) require an active performer of an action, hence their use with an abstract entity makes the expressions metaphoric. In each of these cases the crisis is understood in terms of the actions usually associated with a living being. Moreover, the word *bleed* in (103) entails characteristics of a living being.

The frequency of personification in the American, British, and Russian subcorpora vary. There were 0.44 and 0.55 instances of personification per 1000 words in the British and Russian

subcorpora. In contrast, in the American subcorpora only 0.23 occurrences per 1000 words were identified (Table 4).

Interestingly, the linguistic expressions *leave*, *show*, and *push* are stripped of any evaluative meanings, however in the context presented in (100 – 102) they are used with negatively connoted words *dead*, *recession*, and *mess*. Additionally, in (104) the verb *develop* is frequently collocated with inanimate objects (OED); however, in the context of (104) with the expressions *wait and watch*, an image of the physical growing of a living being is evoked.

What is more, the expression *x-month-old* in (100) is usually employed in reference to the age of a living being. However, in case of (100) both the literal and metaphorical interpretations might arise. The expression has a literal referent of “the crisis that has been going on for three months”, thus such pre-modified noun phrases as might be a result of the space limit considerations. As Ni notices (2003, p. 164), newspapers tend to organise information as compact as possible. Thus, the literal reading of the expression can be justified by the style of the newspaper language. In addition, instances like (100) is a recurrent feature of the British and American newspaper articles.

However, there is evidence of when metaphorical reading of such expressions is especially endorsed. Consider the following example:

- (105) The four-month **crisis** has *brought relations* between Russia and the west *to their lowest point*. (The Times, April 25, 2014)

In (105) the author is talking about *relations*, thus evoking the conceptual area of humans (OED n. 1 ‘the way in which two or more people or groups feel about or behave towards each other’). Such collocation might reinforce the metaphorical reading of the expression the *four-*

*month crisis*. It is worthwhile noting that in (105) the word *old* in the *four-month crisis* is omitted, presumably to avoid any ambiguity. The italicised metaphoric expression in (105) is a derivative of the conventional conceptual metaphor BAD IS LOW (Goatly, 2007, p. 165).

There is evidence when a specific aspect of a living being is highlighted within the personification:

- (106) Austria's trade with Russia slumps as Ukraine **crisis hits** (MT, November 7, 2014)
- (107) Gazprom sees production tumble as Ukraine **crisis bites** (MT, Sep 3, 2014)
- (108) ...*raging* political **crisis** (The Telegraph, February 21, 2014)
- (109) ...**crisis threatens** Russia (The Telegraph, February 21, 2014)

In (106 – 109) the crisis is not only personified but ascribed properties of an angry living being. The expressions *to hit*, *bite*, *threaten* and *rage* require physical force and conceptualise crisis as a living being who can physically attack and hurt. Thus, the metaphor could be specified as CRISIS IS AN ANGRY LIVING BEING.

Interestingly, the verb *hit* has a basic sense of ‘touching someone or something quickly and hard with your hand, a stick etc., (OED v. 1) which implies a living being as the source domain. However, examples in (110 – 112) seem to create a different image:

- (110) ...**crisis-hit** Crimea (IND, March 10, 2014)
- (111) ...the prime minister of **crisis-torn** Ukraine. (IND, January 28, 2014)
- (112) ...fears of an imminent military invasion of Russia's **crisis-hit** Western neighbour (The Telegraph, May 7, 2014)

Here, the crisis is not a grammatical Subject of the sentence as in (106) and hence, the performer of the action but it is an Indirect Object. The expression (110 – 112) are often heard in



the weather forecasts when talking about the storms or other type of natural disasters. Thus, polysemy of the lexeme *hit* can indicate the presence of various source concepts. Due to the grammar of the metaphoric expressions in (110 – 112), where the crisis is the Object, generalization up to the CRISIS IS NATURAL FORCE conceptual metaphor might be proposed.

Moreover, the expressions come from the British subcorpus, where the metaphoric expressions involving the NATURAL FORCE domain were especially common:

- (113) **Ukraine** is in *dire straits*. (The Times, August 12, 2014)
- (114) *It was a black day for Ukraine and a dark moment* for Europe. (IND, February 23, 2014)

The frequencies of the instantiation of the CRISIS IS NATURAL FORCE metaphor in the corpus are shown in Table 4. In addition, the crisis entails some type of destruction and difficulty. Thus, cognitive structuring of the crisis as a natural force rather than a person seems more plausible, and labelling the expressions in (110 – 112) under the same domain might be warranted.

Within the personification and general attribution of human qualities to the crisis, especially unorthodox use of the domain associated with humans showed the British and American subcorpora:

- (115) [**Crisis**] is *also the mother of all crises* for President Putin (The Times, March 3, 2014)
- (116) The Ukraine **crisis** *carries nuclear lessons* for the rest of the world. (UT, March 20, 2014)

In the example (115) the author of the article uses generic personification in a rather unconventional way. The expression is unconventional here because the journalist not only

includes the Ukraine crisis into the domain of human beings, but talks about the crisis in terms of the most important human in every person's life – mother. It is a strategic way to emphasise the importance of the crisis and unfolding events in Ukraine. Further, the journalist elaborates the metaphor by saying that crisis is *the mother of all crises* implying the superiority of the Ukraine crisis over all the other crises Russia has been involved in.

The American subcorpus illustrates another example of the unconventional use of the human domain. In (116) the crisis is not only personified but is constructed as a person who can teach us. For the linguistic expression like in (116) Kövecses (2005) suggests more specific conceptual metaphor of the SOCIAL SUPERIOR.

## 5 Discussion of the results

In this chapter, I will discuss the most important findings presented in Chapter 4 and point towards possible reasons for the difference and similarity between the three subcorpora. I will briefly mention other prominent source domains revealed by the study which; however, due to the lower frequencies got little attention in the result section.

Although the investigation of the referring expressions was not among the primary research questions of the thesis, the claims that language can create realities (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and shape ideology (Charteris-Black, 2004) influenced the decision to examine the lexis used in news reports to cover the Ukraine crisis of 2014. Thus, the frequencies of the nouns from the lexical field of CRISIS in the three subcorpora were calculated.

The analysis revealed that the commonly used words to talk about the events in Ukraine were *crisis*, *war*, *situation*, *tension*, *conflict*, and *unrest*. What is most striking is that the distribution of the most frequent nouns *crisis*, *war* and *situation* across the three subcorpora did

not differ much. In the British subcorpora the noun *crisis* accounted for more than 60 per cent of all cases, followed by *war* (16 per cent) and *situation* (6 per cent). In the American subcorpora the *crisis* reference accounted for 46 per cent of all the nouns, followed by *war* (17 per cent) and *situation* (12 per cent). In the Russian subcorpora the most frequent referring expressions were similarly *crisis* (65 per cent) followed by *situation* (12 per cent) and *war* (11 per cent).

The similarity in the use of referring nouns across three data sets can be related partly to the semantics of these words, and partly to the common topic under discussion. Firstly, all three subcorpora report on the same issue and thus, the similarity in the lexis employed by the journalists.

Secondly, the noun *crisis* is more neutral in its denotative meaning when compared to the noun *war*. The nouns can hardly be regarded as synonymic and newspapers might avoid such strong rhetoric in their reports.

Numerous researchers have noticed newspapers' increased concern about target audience (Biber & Conrad, 2009; Semino, 2009; Ni, 2003). Thus, the pressure to satisfy the public and to keep the issue not so disturbing for the readers might be a factor in avoiding the word *war* in the narrative.

In addition, the preference of the *crisis* over *war* can serve as evidence of the ideological considerations as well. As Semino (2009) has suggested, very rarely the newspapers purely state the facts. More often they reflect the publics' popular ideas and beliefs. Therefore, explicit referring to the events as *crisis* and not as *war* might be a sign of a particular view on the topic in question. Unlike *war*, *crisis* in its denotative meaning excludes armed conflict, and thus minimises the seriousness of the situation. The same ideological factor can also be used to account for the difference in the referring expressions among the three subcorpora.

As far as the primary research questions are concerned, previous studies have demonstrated prominence of metaphors in the media discourse (Charteris-Black & Musolff, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2009; Goatly, 2007; Koller, 2004). Moreover, the researchers (Semino, 2009; Skorczynska and Deignan, 2006; Krennmayr, 2011) share the opinion that the linguistic expressions found in the news reports are mostly conventional and highly lexicalised in the English language. The results of the present study are in line with the previous findings on the metaphors.

The analysis revealed that the British, American, and Russian newspapers rely on the same source domains for metaphors in their texts. They are: LIVING BEING, OBJECT, SUBSTANCE, NATURAL FORCE, DISEASE, JOURNEY, WAR and GAME. The corresponding target domains and the overall results of the study are summarised in the Table 4. However, the qualitative analysis shows that there is a difference across the three corpora in the frequency of use of some source domains as well as in the degree of their creative elaboration on the linguistic level.

The CRISIS IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor is the most frequent in the three subcorpora (Table 4). In the study, the CRISIS IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor included the instances where crisis was conceptualised either as a moving object, dangerous object, or as a container.

The linguistic units realising the conceptual metaphor CRISIS IS AN OBJECT were similar in all three subcorpora and extremely conventional: *untangling the crisis* (18), *handling of the crisis* (19), and *gravity of the crisis* (20), etc. Extremely frequent were instances of metaphorical use of verbs in relation to the target domain, thus conceptualising the crisis either as a moving (29 – 32) or dangerous (33 – 37) object.

The conceptualisation of the crisis as a container was commonly due to the metaphorical use of the prepositions *in*, *out* and *into* (38 – 41). Notably, in the British and American newspapers the

linguistic expressions realising the CRISIS IS A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor were more creative (45 – 46) when compared to the Russian subcorpus (42 – 44).

It is crucial to note that prior to the analysis I expected to find ample evidence of the CONTAINER metaphor yielded primarily by the preposition *in*. However, the stylistic features of the media texts affected the results. Contrary to expectations, all the publications preferred either the noun + noun or classifier + noun combinations (e.g. Ukraine crisis or Ukrainian crisis) over the anticipated *Ukraine is in crisis* or even *crisis in Ukraine* phrases.

This observation correlates well with the earlier findings on the media language. Ni (2003, p. 164) has demonstrated that the noun + noun combinations are extremely frequent in the media texts. According to Ni (2003), the phrases serve to condense the information more effectively and thus, save space (*ibid.*). However, Ni warns (2003, p. 166) that such space saving can lead to misinterpretations. The nominal compounds are highly “context-sensitive” and their meanings depend on the context (*ibid.*). This aspect of the combinations is observed in the British and American data set when the highly pre-modified noun phrases were likely to evoke metaphorical readings (100, 105). Moreover, the study highlighted that the conventional CRISIS IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor usually forms part of the more complex metaphors of WAR and GAME (47 – 48). These in turn are used to structure the general situation in the country.

The source domain of JOURNEY was the second most frequent domain in the data. According to the cognitive linguists, the JOURNEY metaphor makes use of our embodied knowledge of motion through space to some destination and works on the number of submappings such as ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS, DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION, ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS REACHING A DESTINATION, etc. (Gibbs, 2008, p. 43).

Such complex structure of the metaphor can explain the high number of occurrences of metaphoric expressions relating to this source in the corpus. Remarkably, the density of the metaphor is similar in all three subcorpora with an average of 0.67 metaphoric expressions per 1000 words (Table 4.).

On the linguistic level, realization of the JOURNEY metaphor was frequently restricted to the lexemes *journey* (49), *road* (52 – 53), *track* (61), *move forward*, *step* and *turn* (55 – 59). However, there was evidence when the conventional JOURNEY metaphor was extended creatively. In the British and Russian newspaper articles the metaphorical expressions employed (49 and 63) were more elaborate and reflect different attitudes towards the Ukraine crisis of 2014.

The GAME metaphor was the third most prominent metaphor in the corpus. However, the density of the metaphor differs across the three subcorpora. In the British and American subcorpora the relative frequencies of the metaphor were similar. In contrast, the Russian subcorpus demonstrated twice less metaphoric expressions from the domain of GAMES.

In all three subcorpora, the most frequent lexemes realising the GAME metaphor were *game*, *player*, and *score*. Notably, Koller's claims (2004) about the high convergence of the WAR, GAME, and SPORTS metaphors were partly supported. Although the corpus did exhibit ample evidence of polysemous words (e.g. *shot*, *field*, *beat*, and *fight*), the detailed analysis of the articles enabled to identify the exact source domains of the metaphoric expressions. Often the lexemes either collocated with the other words from the same lexical field (64 – 68) or the previous context endorsed the GAME metaphor (76 – 79).

Interestingly, in the British and American subcorpora the general GAME metaphor was realised by linguistic expressions from various types of games. In the American news articles (76 – 79) the boxing game serves as a vehicle for the metaphor, whereas in the British subcorpus there

is an instance when the situation in Ukraine was conceptualised as a chess game (75).

The prominence of the GAME metaphor can have several explanations. On the one hand, the high frequencies of the GAME metaphor in the British and American subcorpora might be explained by the readership concerns. By employing the familiar domains of sports and gambling games in their news texts, the British and American publications might aim to increase interest in the articles and their accessibility to the mass public.

On the other hand, such reliance on the GAME metaphor in the British and American news reporting might have ideological significance. Charteris-Black (2004, p. 115) points out the possibility of reversal of the war and sports domains and the “conceptual basis” that might be created. Reporting on the war by using the sports game metaphors might lead to conceptualisation of the situation as a game or competition (ibid.). Thus, by presenting the situation in Ukraine in terms of a gambling or sports game, the British and American publications might be diminishing the seriousness of the conflict. (Charteris-Black 2004, p. 115).

It is crucial to note that the corpus was devoid of metaphoric expressions relating to the WAR source domain. Such low frequency of the WAR metaphor is consistent with the findings on the most frequent referring nouns in the corpus. Since what was going on in Ukraine directly involved military actions and most of the publications referred to the situation as *war*, lexical items from the military domain were used in their literal sense.

Another frequent way to conceptualise the crisis was to personify it. The density of the CRISIS IS A LIVING BEING conceptual metaphor in the corpus was slightly lower than of the GAME metaphor. There were overall 27 instances of metaphoric expressions related to the CRISIS IS A LIVING BEING conceptual metaphor. Out of all these instances, the majority were linguistic expressions containing the verbs commonly associated with the living beings (100 – 104).

However, within the general attribution of human qualities to the crisis, the British and American subcorpora were especially creative. By using the generic HUMAN domain, the newspaper articles conceptualised the Ukraine crisis as a SOCIAL SUPERIOR (116).

In CTM, personification helps us to understand abstract entities and events drawing from the most familiar and obvious source domain – humans (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 33). Thus, the human domain as one of the most “embodied” might explain its high frequency of the metaphor in the corpus. Moreover, Goatly (2007, p. 13) talks about the phenomenon of multivalency of some source domains in the English language. For instance, such sources as a LIQUID or LIVING BEING in English are highly multivalent as they can be “multivalently” used with wide range of targets (ibid.).

The examination of the corpus also revealed instances when the crisis in Ukraine was conceptualised as some type of natural force. The frequency of the CRISIS IS NATURAL FORCE conceptual metaphor in the corpus is lower when compared to the OBJECT, JOURNEY, GAME, and LIVING BEING metaphors. Typically, the conceptual fields included: earthquakes (e.g. aftershocks), weather (e.g. capsized), flame (blazing revolution), volcanoes (e.g. crisis erupted) or nuclear disaster (e.g. meltdown).

Relatively ample evidence of the CRISIS IS NATURAL FORCE conceptual metaphor in the corpus did not come as a surprise. On the one hand, we are all aware of the destructive force the nature might have, the same as we are aware of the negative consequences a crisis inflicts. Thus, the metaphoric expressions are used to access our experiential knowledge of natural disasters to conceptualise the negative consequences associated with the crisis. In this sense, the CRISIS IS NATURAL FORCE conceptual metaphor might echo with the infrequent CRISIS IS DISEASE metaphor



found in the corpus (Table 4). Both source domains are used to structure the crisis as something negative and unwanted.

On the other hand, the findings are in agreement with the Charteris-Black's (2004, p. 164) claims about the great "expressive potential" of the nature as a source domain. By using lexical items from the sematic field of the nature or health the journalists might be aiming to create more vivid picture and to add colour to the news reporting and thus, evoke reader's interest in the topic (ibid.). The explanation seems especially valid given that a great deal of the linguistic expressions instantiating the CRISIS IS NATURAL FORCE conceptual metaphor come from the British newspapers, which are well-known for their creativity. Whereas in the Russian subcorpus linguistic expressions that can be regarded as instantiations of the CRISIS IS DISEASE conceptual metaphor originate from the news reports by *The Moscow Times* (94 – 96).

## 6 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate how the Ukraine crisis of 2014 was metaphorised in the news reports of the major American, British, and Russian publications. The three main research questions were: What are the main metaphors in the British, American and Russian newspapers used in the relation to the Ukraine crisis? Do the grounds (source domains) for metaphorical structuring of the crisis differ in the three data sets? How can we account for similarities and differences (if found) in the three countries' newspapers?

The choice of the British, American, and Russian publications was not accidental. The UK, USA, and Russia are major economic and political powers in the world. However, during the Ukraine crisis of 2014 the countries maintained opposite stance on the conflict. By analysing the

language employed in countries' major publications, I was hoping to find evidence of the particular ideological stance.

To address the research questions a theoretical framework based on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory was chosen. In addition, the qualitative analysis of the metaphors incorporated the Critical Metaphor Analysis approach as offered by Charteris-Black (2004).

The corpus for the study comprised 106 news articles of major British, American, and Russian publications. The corpus was then divided into three subcorpora each with approximately the same number of words. Moreover, to minimise bias, the articles in the subcorpora varied in genres and aimed different type of readership. Thus, the American news subcorpus included 32 articles from the *USA Today*, *Daily News*, *CNN*, and *The New York Times* publications. The British news subcorpus contained 41 articles from *The Times*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph*, and *The Daily Mirror* publications. The Russian subcorpus consisted of 43 articles coming from the main Russian news agencies: *ITAR-TASS*, *Interfax*, and the English-language publication *The Moscow Times*.

Although not in the primary focus of the thesis, the analysis illustrated that most frequent words used to describe events in Ukraine were *crisis*, *war*, and *situation*. Interestingly, the analysis did not detect any significant difference in the distribution of these nouns across the three subcorpora. The lexical choice could be explained, at least in part, by the semantics of these words and, in part, by the communicative function of the news articles. However, one should not exclude the possible influence of the data sample chosen for the study.

Regarding the conceptual metaphors, the analysis showed that the British, American and Russian newspapers relied on similar metaphors in describing the Ukraine crisis of 2014.

Remarkably, the most frequent source domains for metaphors were common to all three subcorpora and included the domains of OBJECT, JOURNEY, GAME, LIVING BEING, and NATURAL FORCE. The metaphors of OBJECT, LIVING BEING, and NATURAL FORCE were specific to the CRISIS as a target, whereas the JOURNEY and GAME metaphors were used when describing the general situation in Ukraine.

In light of the Cognitive Linguistics, similarity in the choice of the source domains by the three subcorpora could serve as evidence of the multivalency as put forward by Goatley (2007). The OBJECT, LIVING BEING, NATURAL FORCE, JOURNEY, and GAME metaphors are so conventional in English that they can be multivalently applied to various targets. For instance, using personification when talking about an abstract concept is common in the English language. Moreover, in English it is hard to imagine a situation when discussion of a crisis would happen without exploiting the phrases such as *to handle the crisis*, *crisis threatens*, *in crisis*, or even *crisis erupted*. These expressions are so conventional that we rarely think of them as the instances of metaphoric language. Adopting critical approach to the metaphor analysis, the similarity between the subcorpora might point towards the existence of the conventional metaphors in the crisis reporting.

The single most striking observation to emerge from the data comparison was the difference in how each subcorpus employed the same source domains and the level of creative extension of the conceptual metaphors on the linguistic level. For instance, the GAME source domain was more common in the British and American subcorpora. Moreover, in the British and American subcorpora through metaphorical entailments of the WAR and GAME metaphors Ukraine was often framed as the victim in events. In addition, generally metaphoric linguistic expressions realising conventional conceptual metaphors were more creative in the British and American subcorpora.

Thus, there is evidence to say that these publications opt for the emotive language in order to generate public interest in the topic.

In conclusion, the results of the thesis coincide with the previous findings on the highly-lexicalised nature of the metaphors in the newspapers discourse. The analysis showed that all three subcorpora used the same source domains for metaphors when discussing the Ukraine crisis. However, there was a marked difference as to the frequencies of the particular source domains as well as the level of their creative elaboration on the linguistic level. The similarity in the choice of metaphors across the three subcorpora is related to their high multivalency in the English language. The reasons for dissimilarities can be related partly to the different attitudes towards the events of 2014 in Ukraine, and partly to the well-established salience of metaphoric language in particular publications.

The present thesis is an important step towards enhancing our understanding of modern media language. Despite the extensive studies on metaphors during the last decades, it was the first time that metaphors were researched in the context of the Ukraine crisis reporting. Moreover, it was the first time the topic in question was researched by incorporating both cognitive and critical approach to the study of metaphors.

The thesis clearly has some limitations. The most important weakness lies in the theoretical framework chosen for the study. The corpus included large number of metaphorically used verbs in reference to the target domain vocabulary (e.g. *crisis jolted*). Adopting CMT with its need for the A is B format it was hard to establish connection of a verb to any specific source domain. Such difficulty in categorisation consequently affected the quantitative results of the study. Moreover, the search for underlying source concepts of the linguistic expressions usually took attention from

the grammatical side (as in the case of nominal compounds) of the expressions employed in the newspapers.

Despite such limitations, the results illustrated that it is not so important what metaphors are used but how they are used, in which context, and what are their metaphorical entailments and possible inferences. In the future, it might be worthwhile to investigate the employment of a single conceptual metaphor such as GAME or WAR in different types of discourse or across different languages. Moreover, to get a better insight of the ideological metaphor use, in the future it is worthwhile to concentrate more on the authorship of the metaphor linguistic expressions as well as on the level of their creative extensions.

Additionally, the present thesis has possible implications for the study of metaphor processing. There were occurrences in the articles when both metaphorical and literal reading were possible. The familiarity with the topic allowed to determine the most appropriate reading. Nevertheless, in the future it would be interesting to test the theory of the priority of metaphorical reading as suggested by Gibbs (2008, p. 70).

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## Appendix 1: Corpus Data

### (a) American subcorpus

1. U.S.-Russia Talks on Ukraine Fail to Ease Tension The New York Times, March 15, 2014 Saturday; Pg. 1, (1285 words), by Andrew E. Kramer from Kiev, Alan Cowell from London, Peter Baker from Washington and Somini Sengupta from the United Nations
2. Is Putin Really Cornered? The New York Times, August 9, 2014 Saturday, Column, (988 words), by Anrew S. Weiss
3. Kerry, Saying Russians Died in Ukraine, Urges Moscow to Carry Out Peace Accord The New York Times, December 5, 2014 Friday, Section; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg., (570 words), by Michael R. Gordon
4. Tussling Over Ukraine; Gains and Grave Setbacks for Gay Rights The New York Times, March 2, 2014 Sunday; Pg. 2, (1102 words), by Sergei Schmemann
5. Conflict Uncovers a Ukrainian Identity Crisis Over Deep Russian Roots The New York Times, October 19, 2014 Sunday, Pg. 14, (1571 words), by Neil ManFarquhar
6. Phone Russia with shove Prez, Vlad test waters for Ukraine talks Daily News (New York), March 29, 2014 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 4, (438 words), by James Warren
7. THIS IS A WARNING Bam: We won't tolerate aggression Soldiers stir fear of split of Ukraine Daily News (New York), March 1, 2014 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 4, (723 words), by Stephen Rex Brown
8. BAM "TIMID" IN UKRAINE GOP gripes as rebs run wild Daily News (New York), May 1, 2014 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 21, (396 words), by Joseph Straw
9. Phone Russia with shove Prez, Vlad test waters for Ukraine talks Daily News (New York), March 29, 2014 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 4, (440 words), by James Warren
10. INVASION "Marked aggression" as Russian troops cross into Ukraine Daily News (New York), August 29, 2014 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 6, (469 words), by James Warren
11. BLOODY SHAME Congress takes break as Ukraine boils over Daily News (New York), March 14, 2014 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 10, (496 words), by Dan Friedmann and James Warren
12. "BLOOD VOW" We won't give up any land, says Ukraine PM Daily News (New York), March 10, 2014 Monday, NEWS; Pg. 4, (478 words), by Bill Hutchinson
13. Are you Putin U.S. on? Sings praise of Americans Daily News (New York), September 25, 2015 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 14, (487 words), by Adam Edelman
14. "PIRATES" OF BLACK SEA Russia's threat to ships "Surrender" or be seized Pentagon cuts Putin ties Daily News (New York), March 4, 2014 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 4, (713 words), by Kerry Burke, Oren Yaniv, Joseph Straw and Corky Siemaszko
15. RUSSIAN "PIRATES" Threat to Ukraine ships Kremlin: Ah, "nonsense" Pentagon suspends ties Daily News (New York), March 4, 2014 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 4, (699 words), by Kerry Burke, Oren Yaniv, Joseph Straw and Corky Siemaszko
16. A new cold war? Why Crimea crisis matters USA TODAY, March 14, 2014 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 8A, (513 words), by Susan Page

17. Both sides defiant in “biggest crisis in Europe of 21st century”; Russians set an ultimatum; U.S. warns again USA TODAY, March 4, 2014 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 1A, (439 words), by Jacob Resneck and Kim Hjelmgaard
18. Ukraine: 5 things to watch; Wall Street keeps close eye on what could happen USA TODAY, March 4, 2014 Tuesday, MONEY; Pg. 1B, (616 words), by Adam Shell
19. Ukraine leader to visit White House for pep talk; Obama aide blasts GOP’s criticism of U.S. foreign policy USA TODAY, March 10, 2014 Monday, NEWS; Pg. 1A, (412 words), by David Jackson and Aamer Madhani
20. Kerry: Russia fuelling unrest; Says protesters paid to set stage for Ukraine invasion USA TODAY, April 9, 2014 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 1A, (335 words), by Oren Dorell, and Anna Arutunyan
21. Russia “outright lied”; Obama: Moscow will pay a price for Ukraine crisis USA TODAY, August 29, 2014 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 1A, (364 words), by Doug Stanglin and Gregory Korte
22. A bolstered Ukraine pays off for EU; Trade deal may replenish Europe’s “breadbasket” USA TODAY, March 7, 2014 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 5A, (455 words), by Jabeen Bhatti, Luigi Serenelli and Janelle Dumalaon,
23. Russia does limited withdrawal; Analysts say pullout doesn’t mean crisis in Ukraine is over USA TODAY, April 1, 2014 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 5A, (401 words), by Olga Rudenko
24. Russia seeks “peaceful settlement”; Ukrainians meet to discuss cease-fire USA TODAY, September 2, 2014 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 3A, (465 words), by Kim Hjelmgaard and John Bacon
25. Ukraine, Russia escalate crisis; Officer killed in riots; Moscow calls for U.N. meeting USA TODAY, April 14, 2014 Monday, NEWS; Pg. 1A, (263 words), by Olga Rudenko
26. Nuclear lessons in Ukraine; Putin’s message to the world is build the bomb if you want to be safe USA TODAY, March 20, 2014 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 8A, (720 words), by James S. Robbins
27. No weapons for Ukraine, U.S. reaffirms on eve of meeting; Obama unveils security plan, warns Russia USA TODAY, June 4, 2014 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 5A, (562 words), by David Jackson and Oren Dorell
28. Ukraine crisis: What’s happening? Depends on whom you ask CNN.com, March 3, 2014 Monday 10:31 PM EST, WORLD, (446 words), by Catherine E. Shoichet,
29. Russia blasts new sanctions as counterproductive, “confrontational” CNN.com, September 12, 2014 Friday 7:52 PM EST, WORLD, (633 words), by Greg Botelho and Clare Sebastian
30. Ukraine crisis talks: Diplomats urge end to violence, security for all CNN.com, April 17, 2014 Thursday 5:04 PM EST, WORLD, (2207 words), by Marie-Louise Gumuchian, Laura Smith-Spark and Nick Paton Walsh
31. Russia questions Ukraine holding an election while its troops are deployed CNN.com, May 6, 2014 Tuesday 10:32 AM EST, WORLD, (1446 words), by Laura Smith-Spark. Marie-Louise Gumuchian and Nick Paton Walsh

32. Ukraine to start national talks aimed at easing crisis CNN.com, May 14, 2014 Wednesday 10:46 AM EST, WORLD, (975 words), by Laura Smith-Spark, Kellie Morgan and Atika Shubert

## (b) British subcorpus

1. This crisis is about what's best for Ukraine, not Russia Independent.co.uk, February 23, 2014 Sunday 12:10 AM GMT, NEWS, (496 words), by Douglas Alexander
2. Ukraine crisis: Russia to begin testing missile forces for long-range nuclear arsenal; Cameron has told EU leaders not to "appease" Putin as Britain and France did Hitler Independent.co.uk, September 3, 2014 Wednesday 9:02 AM GMT, HOME NEWS, (421 words), by Loulla-Mae Eleftheriou-Smith
3. Ukraine crisis: Putin warns Ukraine faces "serious consequences" after signing EU deal; Ukraine has signed a historic trade and economic pact with the EU along with two other former Soviet republics, Moldova and Georgia Independent.co.uk, June 27, 2014 Friday 11:55 AM GMT, FRONTPAGE, (440 words), by Heather Saul
4. Ukraine prime minister Mykola Azarov resigns in bid to ease crisis; Premier says he wants to encourage "social-political compromise" Independent.co.uk, January 28, 2014 Tuesday 10:12 AM GMT, NEWS, (326 words), by Heather Saul
5. Ukraine crisis: Nato and Russia in Twitter spat; Head of Nato and Russia's foreign ministry in Twitter row over Ukraine crisis telegraph.co.uk, May 9, 2014 Friday 9:55 AM GMT, NEWS, (315 words), by Matthew Day Warsaw
6. Vladimir Putin and Petro Poroshenko discuss "way out" of Ukraine crisis; Vladimir Putin "to large extent" agrees with his Ukrainian counterpart, his spokesman says, as reports of 70 Russian paratroopers and an embedded Russian journalist killed in Ukraine emerge telegraph.co.uk, September 3, 2014 Wednesday 9:53 AM GMT, NEWS, (329 words), by Howard Amos Moscow
7. Russia warns Ukrainian forces in Crimea to surrender by 3am or face WAR; The warning - which marks a worrying turn in the crisis - was issued after Russian troops took over control of key sites in the region mirror.co.uk, March 3, 2014 Monday 5:16 PM GMT, (387 words), by Anthony Bond
8. Ukraine crisis: Vladimir Putin "withdraws troops" from border; Vladimir Putin states Russia has withdrawn its troops from the Ukrainian border in possible breakthrough telegraph.co.uk, May 7, 2014 Wednesday 3:55 PM GMT, NEWS, (264 words), by Agencies
9. Ukraine crisis: "C" for Crimea, "P" for Putin - new way to learn Russian alphabet; Pro-Kremlin youth movement offers children new way of learning alphabet in midst of Ukraine crisis - including "C" stands for Crimea, "D" for Donetsk and "P" for Putin telegraph.co.uk, May 14, 2014 Wednesday 4:20 PM GMT, NEWS, (260 words), by AFP
10. Ukraine crisis: "Shots fired" as Russian troops take over Ukrainian naval base in Crimea; Fears of rising tensions ahead of 16 March Crimean referendum, which has been denounced by the US Independent.co.uk, March 10, 2014 Monday 4:11 PM GMT, FRONTPAGE, (576 words), by Adam Withnall
11. Ukraine Q&A: A brief guide to the conflict and how events might unfold; With Russian troops entering the Crimea over the weekend and international leaders condemning the

- situation, we give you a brief guide to events in Ukraine [mirror.co.uk](http://mirror.co.uk), March 3, 2014 Monday 3:31 PM GMT, (561 words), by Richard Hartley-Parkinson
12. Low inflation and Ukraine crisis trigger growth fears *The Independent* (London), May 6, 2014 Tuesday, BUSINESS; Pg. 51, (320 words), by RUSSELL LYNCH
  13. Ukraine crisis: G-7 leaders cancel G-8 Summit in Sochi *Independent.co.uk*, March 24, 2014 Monday 7:57 PM GMT, FRONTPAGE, (380 words), by Maria Tadeo
  14. Differing perspectives on the Ukraine crisis; Letters to the Editor *The Times* (London), March 5, 2014 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 29, (515 words)
  15. Investor's Ukraine bet looks dicey *The Times* (London), December 16, 2014 Tuesday, BUSINESS; Pg. 43, (320 words), by Harry Wilson
  16. US admits defeat over Ukrainian phone tap gaffe *The Times* (London), February 8, 2014 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 41, (475 words), by Ben Hoyle
  17. Don't make a drama out of Crimea's crisis; NATO nations should not over-react to Vladimir Putin's protection of historic Russian interests in eastern Ukraine *The Times* (London), March 3, 2014 Monday, NEWS; Pg. 29, (915 words), by Christopher Meyer
  18. Ukraine likely to default, says S&P; Country downgraded as raging political crisis leads ratings agency to warn that its government will not be able to pay its debts [telegraph.co.uk](http://telegraph.co.uk), February 21, 2014 Friday 1:45 PM GMT, FINANCE, (276 words), by Agencies
  19. Vladimir Putin discusses ceasefire with Ukraine president-elect Petro Poroshenko at D-Day ceremonies; Ukraine crisis: Russia's Vladimir Putin shakes hands with Petro Poroshenko as pair discuss de-escalation of crisis, and has brief exchange with US president Barack Obama [telegraph.co.uk](http://telegraph.co.uk), June 6, 2014 Friday 3:03 PM GMT, NEWS, (278 words), by Agencies
  20. Ukraine crisis: Two dead in Kharkiv shootout as tensions rise ahead of Crimea referendum; Clashes come after key talks between John Kerry and Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov failed to reach a resolution to the crisis *Independent.co.uk*, March 15, 2014 Saturday 9:25 AM GMT, FRONTPAGE, (451 words), by Heather Saul
  21. Ukraine crisis: Armed men seize Ukrainian border checkpoint at ferry terminal between Russia and Crimea; Border guards said three truckloads of armed men crossed into a ferry terminal on the Ukrainian side before seizing it [mirror.co.uk](http://mirror.co.uk), March 3, 2014 Monday 8:58 PM GMT, NEWS, WORLD NEWS, (424 words), by Anthony Bond
  22. Ukraine crisis: four party talks announced; First ministerial level talks involving Russia, US, EU and Ukraine since the crisis began will take place next week offering hope of diplomatic progress [telegraph.co.uk](http://telegraph.co.uk), April 9, 2014 Wednesday 1:44 AM GMT, NEWS, (532 words), by Reuters
  23. Checkpoint attack fuels Ukraine crisis *The Times* (London), April 21, 2014 Monday, NEWS; Pg. 28, (682 words), by Tom Coghlan
  24. Signs of hope for Ukraine *The Times* (London), June 11, 2014 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 30, (222 words), by Ben Hoyle
  25. Ukraine courts fight for "clean" rule; The country's lawyers are going into battle to enforce the rule of law and take on corruption, says Edward Fennell *The Times* (London), March 6, 2014 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 59, (882 words), by Edward Fennell

26. Ukraine crisis spreads as Russians advance; Troops urged to switch sides amid anarchy and chaos Crisis spreads as Russians advance amid chaos and anarchy in Crimea The Times (London), March 4, 2014 Tuesday, Pg. 1,6, (615 words), by Ben Hoyle, Anthony Loyd
27. We need (EURO)5bn by Friday or we will go bust, Kiev says The Times (London), February 26, 2014 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 28, (619 words), by Ben Hoyle
28. We're not leaving - protesters defy leaders to reject Geneva peace deal; What deal? Tom Coghlan speaks to protesters inside occupied Donetsk The Times (London), April 19, 2014 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 44, (955 words), by Tom Coghlan
29. Putin threatens war after Kiev forces kill separatists; Kremlin sends 40,000 troops to Ukraine border, The Times (London), April 25, 2014 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 34, (822 words), by Tom Coghlan
30. Nato to help Ukraine as energy war heats up The Times (London), April 4, 2014 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 35, (649 words), by Ben Hoyle
31. Putin Throws the Dice; Russia is gambling with the security of Europe by sending troops into Ukraine The Times (London), November 14, 2014 Friday, EDITORIAL; OPINION; LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 28, (538 words)
32. Ukraine on edge of break-up as Russia swallows Crimea The Times (London), March 7, 2014 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 34,35, (985 words), by Ben Hoyle; Charles Bremner
33. Rebel defeat will be little cause for celebration; Ukraine may stamp out the insurgency but the intractable problems that remain would capsize most countries The Times (London), August 12, 2014 Tuesday, EDITORIAL; Pg. 25, (1101 words), by Edward Lucas
34. Teetering Russian economy faces cash crisis over Ukraine The Daily Telegraph (London), April 15, 2014 Tuesday, BUSINESS; Pg. 4, (734 words), by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard
35. Ukraine crisis means Europe must spend on defence, says US The Daily Telegraph (London), May 3, 2014 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 4, (403 words), by Ben Farmer
36. Ukraine crisis shows global governance is in a mess, and the West knows why; Viewpoint The Daily Telegraph (London), April 19, 2014 Saturday, BUSINESS; Pg. 38, (1039 words), by Jim O'Neill
37. Ukraine crisis prompts Western powers to boost energy defences The Daily Telegraph (London), April 23, 2014 Wednesday, BUSINESS; Pg. 4, (737 words), by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard
38. Ukraine's blazing revolution has sent Downing Street into European wilderness; Analysis The Daily Telegraph (London), February 22, 2014 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 13, (405 words), by Colin Freeman
39. Russian armed convoy "destroyed" in Ukraine; Fear of all-out war between Kiev and Moscow The Daily Telegraph (London), August 16, 2014 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 1,4, (963 words), by Tom Parfitt; Roland Oliphant
40. Ukraine sends in army to stop Russian "terrorists" The Daily Telegraph (London), April 14, 2014 Monday, NEWS; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1, (226 words), by Harriet Alexander, Colin Freeman and Roland Oliphant



41. Ukraine a game-changer for Britain, say MPs The Daily Telegraph (London), July 31, 2014  
Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 14, (608 words), by Ben Farmer and Christopher Hope

## (c) Russian subcorpus

1. EU's inaction regarding Ukraine gas debt looks like attempt to shift blame - Putin (adds quotes, context), ITAR-TASS, April 10, 2014 Thursday 07:35 PM GMT+4, (638 words)
2. Crisis in Ukraine result of erroneous EU policy - Russian envoy, ITAR-TASS, April 9, 2014 Wednesday 06:43 PM GMT+4, (318 words)
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5. Russian experts retain hopes for Geneva meeting over Ukrainian crisis, ITAR-TASS, April 15, 2014 Tuesday 03:44 PM GMT+4, (943 words) by Tamara Zamyatina
6. Lavrov considers Russia's proposals on Ukrainian crisis settlement still relevant, ITAR-TASS, March 21, 2014 Friday 04:24 PM GMT+4, (339 words)
7. Ukraine crisis shows harmfulness of false choice – Lavrov, TAR-TASS, September 1, 2014 Monday 11:38 AM GMT+4, (179 words)
8. Russia initiates Ukraine support group to overcome crisis - Foreign Ministry, ITAR-TASS, March 17, 2014 Monday 03:44 PM GMT+4, (517 words)
9. Washington uses Ukraine as pawn in its big geopolitical game - Russian politician, ITAR-TASS, April 23, 2014 Wednesday 05:37 AM GMT+4, (458 words)
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11. It is quite possible to deescalate Ukrainian crisis (updates), ITAR-TASS, April 11, 2014 Friday 02:34 PM GMT+4, (230 words)
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13. URGENT: Crisis in Ukraine was caused by coup supported by West - Russian FM ITAR-TASS, April 29, 2014 Tuesday 05:53 PM GMT+4, (117 words)
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18. Russia urges Ukraine's "true friends" to make Kiev start constitutional reform Interfax news agency, April 16, 2014 Wednesday, (277 words)
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21. Russian envoy says NATO role in Ukraine crisis "extremely destructive", Interfax news agency, Moscow, (657 words)
22. Russian State Duma speaker slams Council of Europe body for stance on Ukraine, Interfax news agency, Moscow, October 10, 2014 Friday, (219 words)
23. Russia's Lavrov likens Ukraine crisis to "regime change" in Iraq, Libya, Interfax news agency, Moscow, May 30, 2014 Friday, (171 words)
24. No chance of Russian troops entering Ukraine - senior official Interfax news agency, Moscow, May 23, 2014 Friday, (162 words)
25. Ukraine crisis caused by USSR's "reckless" dismantling - Gorbachev Interfax news agency, Moscow, December 30, 2014 Tuesday, (260 words)
26. Why The Crisis in Ukraine Will Determine What Happens in Syria, The Moscow Times, April 10, 2014 — 20:44, (1121 words), by Alexander Shumilin
27. Medvedev Predicts "Full-Scale" Gas Crisis with Ukraine, (87 words) July 3, 2014 — 10:11 by The Moscow Times
28. Gazprom Sees Production Tumble as Ukraine Crisis Bites, The Moscow Times, Sep 3, 2014 — 20:28, (704 words), by Howard Amos
29. Most Russians Think Western Powers Caused Ukraine Crisis, July 29, 2014 — 11:11 (204 words), by The Moscow Times
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32. Clashing Civilizations in Modern Ukraine, The Moscow Times, August 31, 2014 — 18:17, (942 words), by Pyotr Romanov
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34. Richard Branson Wants to Solve Ukraine Crisis in Talks With Putin, Aug 20, 2014 — 19:16 (323 words), by The Moscow Times
35. EBRD Says Ukraine Crisis Pushing Russia Into Recession, Nov 18, 2014 — 19:34 (259 words), by The Moscow Times
36. Ukraine Crisis and Economic Slump Rattling Foreign Real Estate Investors, The Moscow Times, March 17, 2014 — 23:00 (804 words), by Delphine d'Amora
37. No End in Sight for Ukraine Gas Wars, The Moscow Times, Sep 10, 2014 — 19:06 (652 words), by Tomas Maltby
38. Ukraine Crisis Undermining Putin's Dreams of Uniting Ex-Soviet States, The Moscow Times, Oct 10, 2014 — 19:05 (711 words), by The Moscow Times
39. Language Continues to Divide Ukraine, The Moscow Times, Oct 13, 2014 — 18:22 (598 words), by Matthew Kupfer
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41. Ukraine Crisis Nets Billions of Dollars for Kremlin, March 3, 2014 — 23:00 (1254 words), by Anatoly Medetsky

42. Ukraine Crisis Will Be “Game Changer” for NATO, May 18, 2014 — 16:10 (755 words), by The Moscow Times
43. Russia’s Sberbank Defies Ukraine Crisis to Promise 20% Dividends for 5 Years, June 8, 2014 — 18:05 (581 words), by The Moscow Times

## Appendix 2

Absolute frequencies of the referring expressions

<b>Referring nouns</b>	<b>British subcorpus, N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>American subcorpus, N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Russina subcorpus, N</b>	<b>%</b>
Crisis	178	64	98	46	201	65
Tension	15	5	20	9	7	2
Situation	18	6	27	13	37	12
Conflict	16	6	19	9	28	9
Unrest	4	1	10	5	1	0.3
Turmoil	2	1	1	0.5	2	1
Event	3	1	2	1	2	1
War	44	16	37	17	33	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>280</b>		<b>214</b>		<b>311</b>	